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# THE NONCONFORMIST.

"The dissidence of dissent and the protestantism of the protestant religion."

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## ECCLESIASTICAL AFFAIRS.

A NOBLER mission than that with which dissenters are charged, it is difficult to conceive. If, when truth beckons, men are bound to attend—if, when truth is heard, they are under obligation to give utterance to the revelation she has vouchsafed to them, duties more weighty or more honourable than those devolving upon the nonconformists of this country, were never laid upon any religious body. A more splendid career of usefulness was not opened to the army of martyrs, who with incredible labours and rivers of blood, worked out the Reformation, than that which invites the onward march of protestant dissenters.

We speak advisedly. Those principles which, under the wise arrangements of Providence, were gradually evolved out of the sufferings, the consuming anxieties, the tortures, the death of so many great and good men, could not be trivial ones. Means so costly were not designed to accomplish an end of small importance. The mantle which our forefathers let fall upon their descendants was never meant to be folded up and laid aside. If we have nothing to do for the furtherance of our principles, *their* sacrifice of themselves was an egregious error.

But now, how stands the case? Christianity, "cribbed, cabined, confined" by the State, by a body of aristocracy—forced, as John Milton expresses it, "to grind in the prison-house of their sinister designs and practices"—degraded into a tool with which to mend their fortunes, and prolong their ascendancy—tricked out with meretricious ornaments that conceal or deface her native loveliness—rendered hateful to the people by the tyranny and rapacity practised in her name—Christianity appeals to dissenters who profess to be better acquainted with her nature and her claims, to rescue her from this humiliating bondage, and persevere in generous, self-denying effort to deliver her out of the hands of men who are ignorant of her worth.

Coldly have the dissenters of this country listened to this appeal. The case, they confess, is a grievous one. They cannot shut their eyes to that. Every day events force that upon their conviction. Would heaven put an end to the evil, they would be devoutly thankful,—supremely happy. But what are *they* to do? For them to meddle with the question would give serious offence. Besides it is political. They prefer, therefore, to do good in their own quiet way—to let alone the disease which prays upon the very vitals of society, and busy themselves in attempts to cure a finger or a hand—to work out effects in detail, and allow a state-church to destroy them by wholesale—in one word, to evade their high mission, and thrust into obscurity their great principles.

Alas! that good men should be scared from a service so honourable, by a silly taunt flung at them by crafty men who laugh among themselves at the effect it produces. Political! Is there any thing so criminal in being political, that sacred duties must be abandoned, rather than expose ourselves to the charge? Is the christian church to be left weltering in corruption, because men cannot drag it forth without defiling their hands with politics? Is every law of religion to be for ever subverted by those who assume to be its only authorised guardians, until the evil can be remedied by other than civil agency? Is, then, the understanding of protestant dissenters to be paralysed, and their spirit cowed by an unmeaning, worthless, ridiculous charge like this? In very sooth, we blush for the folly of it.

But dissenters, it will be urged, are unjustly reproached with an indifference to, or a betrayal of, the great cause committed to their hands. They are heartily attached to it, although difference of opinion may exist as to the best mode of seeking its advancement. Well! how do they show their attachment? What do they *do*? If they have not brought their power to bear upon the legislature, from a settled conviction that opinion is not ripe for such an effort, have they laboured to ripen opinion? Are their children imbued with a knowledge of their principles, or duly impressed with a sense of their importance? Do their ministers, usually, make it any part of their duty, to instruct their people on this subject? Are they forward to countenance and encourage those who stand forth to promote the spread of voluntaryism? Do they not ordinarily stand aloof from all such efforts? In strict candour, in open, day-light honesty,—have dissenters fulfilled their mission, or done what they could?

From our inmost soul, we wish we could answer, "Yes." We cannot—they know full well, we cannot. No! degraded, "in-

sulted Christianity has made her appeal to them in vain, and their posterity, if not themselves, will have to deplore the fatal mistake. Priestcraft is not inactive, if dissenters are. They who brand consistent nonconformists with the epithet, "political," are political enough themselves. They are "wise in their generation." They know what weapons to handle, and how to use them most effectively. They are gaining ground upon passive dissent. They have this advantage—they are not ashamed of their principles.

What then is to be done? We answer at once, we must begin at home—must reform ourselves. With unfeigned sorrow, not unmingled with sincere respect—with a hearty and thankful appreciation of the good they do, in other directions—with a full knowledge that many noble exceptions must be made—not in bitterness, but in simple, earnest faithfulness, we are compelled to proclaim our conviction, that the principal cause of our present weakness and humiliation, is the conduct, on this question, of **DISSENTING MINISTERS.**

## CHURCH RATES—MR. BAINES.

At length, after five months, the imprisonment of this gentleman begins to attract the attention of dissenters. The question is now, for the first time, put, "What is to be done with it? Shall it be a precedent for others?"

The subject requires but few words, at least if those words be to the point.

The ultimate cause of Mr. Baines's imprisonment is a conscientious objection to pay church-rates, on the ground that by doing so, he would recognize the ecclesiastical authority imposing them—which authority, as a dissenter, he repudiates as usurped. It makes no difference to his judgment that the usurpation is sanctioned and backed by the civil power. Touching matters of religion, he refuses to do homage to *any* human authority—and ministering to the support of this or that form of divine worship is, as he apprehends, a matter of religion, the law for the regulation of which is expressly laid down in scripture. Thus far, then, he stands upon the ground of conscience.

Standing on this ground he is exposed to penalty. Law condemns him to suffer for having a conscience on this head. The law administered by the civil magistrate punishes him in his *property*—by an ecclesiastical dignitary in his *person*: but whether administered by the one or the other, the reason is the same, he *cannot* pay church-rates.

Before we can decide whether his case shall be a precedent for others, we must understand his motive for exposing himself to the heavier penalty when he might unquestionably have submitted to the least. We shall then be in a position to judge whether a similar motive should have force with all dissenters.

The sneers of the *Globe* at the prisoner's morbid craving after martyrdom, the ill-tempered sarcasm of the *Spectator*, and the coarse, nay, brutal attacks of high church and tory papers—let them pass for what they are worth. No one of the thousands who have visited Mr. Baines in prison doubts that his *heart* is in the right place. Time will show—is already beginning to show, whether he was very wide in respect of judgment.

Months before honest and heroic JOHN THOROGOOD was so unceremoniously thrust into Chelmsford gaol, the course upon which Mr. Baines has entered was decided upon. The church-rate question had been long shelved. Leading dissenters were discouraging agitation. Apathy which, when the principle at issue is regarded, is not too severely designated as disgraceful, reigned in the metropolis, and for the most part throughout the provinces. Meanwhile clerical tyrants in remote districts, taking advantage of the universal lull, began to evoke the terrible powers of ecclesiastical courts. Dissenters, however, only whispered in court terms their disapprobation. The guardians of religious liberty slept, and ecclesiastical despotism was cautiously stealing down upon it. Then, and not till then, Mr. Baines and his friends resolved to expose themselves to its fangs, and give dissenters opportunity and time to arouse themselves for action. Twenty-seven inhabitants of St. Martin's, Leicester, ousted the jurisdiction of the magistrates, and stood front to front with the monster of injustice and iniquity called "*a court Christian*." Had all been taken, the end would have been answered. Slumbering dissenters could not have slept through the shock. The body would have started up, and with a voice of thunder demanded the abolition of these courts and of church-rates for ever.



Mr. Baines, however, was picked out as the single victim. The prospect before him was such as would make many a brave heart quail. Calmly and unswervingly, however, he sustained the onset. He was served with a citation, before John Thorogood was summoned. Three times, in different stages of the encounter, he went to the civil tribunals of his country, to ask whether the course pursued against him was legal. Three times he was told, "all is right—the courts can do as they please." The generous victim has been a prisoner upwards of five months; and surely, if anything could induce him to violate his conscience and pay the demand, dissenting apathy would.

Men—aye! ministers of Christ's word—call him virtually a fool for his pains. If men choose to expose themselves to suffering in a great cause, let them go to the antipodes. Manhood is estimated now-a-days, according to the remoteness of the stage upon which it is exhibited.

Well! is the precedent to be followed? The answer to that question just depends upon another—"How many prisoners will it take to arouse dissenters?"

Meanwhile, we may just hint, that it would be quite as well, before dissenters discuss the question whether they shall all go to gaol, to do a much less difficult thing, which may possibly render imprisonment unnecessary. Mr. Easthope is about to bring a bill into the House of Commons for the total abolition of church-rates. Let them see to it that he does not miscarry for want of their energetic support. Let us have petitions first—we may talk about prisons hereafter.

#### SIGNS OF THE TIMES.

We have been delighted by some resolutions advertised in our columns of to-day, as passed by the "Society for the Protection of Religious Liberty." In the childish simplicity of our hearts, we had even deemed this tree (which bore fruit in other days) none other than dead—or at least withered down to its bipartite root—John Wilks, Esq. and Dr. Brown—secretary and treasurer. We were misled by the fact that its annual public meetings have of late been discontinued, and for some three or four years no account given of its funds. We regretted this the rather, inasmuch as we were informed that it had funds to give an account of, which is not the case with every society of this stamp; and further, because the characters of the highly respectable gentlemen who figure as officers of this society, are above suspicion, as to the proper appropriation of the same. Under these circumstances, we think it a pity that they deem themselves under obligation to carry out the Scripture precept to so extreme a length, "Let not thy left hand know what thy right hand doeth."

We are now pleased at finding that there is a committee capable of moving, seconding, carrying, and advertising a resolution. Nor can we forbear expressing our delight that they have made so strong a demonstration against church-rates and ecclesiastical imprisonments—that they have even gone to so bold a length as to declare their additional conviction, "that the union of the church with the state will ere long become an evil too obnoxious to be endured—that unslumbering vigilance, combined and augmented zeal, and universal well-directed efforts, on the part of all friends to religious liberty, are indispensably needful, and should not be delayed; and that in such exertions this committee will cheerfully and firmly concur." Now we believe implicitly in printed resolutions, and in this our faith we respectfully call upon these gentlemen to state what is the precise condition of the society's funds, and how much they will devote to the promotion of the great purpose they have so deeply at heart.

Mr. William Baines remains a prisoner in the county gaol at Leicester, where he has been confined upwards of TWENTY-THREE WEEKS, for declining to pay at the bidding of the Archbishop of Canterbury's court, the sum of 2*l.* 6*s.* church-rates, and 12*s.* 3*s.* costs.

CASE OF MR. D. PALFREY, OF DOVER.—In December last, this gentleman appeared before the magistrates in answer to a summons for non-payment of church-rates, and succeeded in ousting their jurisdiction on the ground of illegality in the proceedings of the churchwardens. He was, thereupon, served with a citation from the Arches Court of Canterbury, to which he put in an appearance, and from that time to the present he has heard nothing more of the matter. From the following extract of a letter, addressed by Mr. Palfrey to the *Dover Chronicle* of Saturday last, it would seem there are grounds for supposing the churchwardens have given up the case in despair:—

"It is true that, on the 26th of December last, I was served with a copy of an unintelligible document, said to be a 'citation.' To this document I caused my appearance to be entered in the court—that is, that I do intend to defend the case, whenever called on so to do. Now there were two court days held in the month of January, and I know not how many since; but this I know, that, from the time that Mr. Proctor served the said 'citation' on me to the present, I have heard nothing on the subject, either from the Arches Court, vestry clerk, or churchwardens.

"I, therefore, conclude that they do not intend to proceed, especially as they must be conscious that if they do they will be obliged to produce their books; and in those books are such statements as induced the magistrates' clerk to express his opinion, when I was summoned, 'that if the vestry clerk did take my case to the ecclesiastical courts, he would obtain a decision in his favour.'"

[If Mr. Palfrey would look over the returns of all cases of church-rates tried in ecclesiastical courts, since the passing of the act 53 G. 3, obtained on the motion of Sir T. Potter, just after Mr. Childs' imprisonment, he would see that cases "not proceeded with" are not unfrequent. The expenses of these courts are so enormous that a citation is looked upon by churchwardens as a thumb-screw that cannot fail of bringing a recusant to submission. Should this fail, as in Mr. P.'s case, the matter is dropped.]

The churchwardens of Lower Tooting have been unable, this year, to prevail upon the parishioners to grant them a church-rate. We understand that the dissenters in this parish are seconded in their efforts to rid themselves of this obnoxious impost by a considerable number of churchmen.

At Worship street on Thursday last, 98 summonses against inhabitants of St. Mary's, Stoke Newington, for non-payment of church rates were heard. Several of the parties disputed the validity of the rate, and these cases were adjourned for a fortnight; others did not appear and warrants of distraint were issued; whilst others pleaded poverty, and the magistrate fixed a distant period for payment. Mr. Joseph Cooper, of Lawrence Pountney-lane, a member of the Society of Friends, wished to be allowed to complain of a report contained in the *Morning Chronicle* of the 14th instant, of the proceedings which had taken place at this office on the preceding day. In that report the members of the Society of Friends in Stoke Newington were represented as placing out to the officers pieces of plate to the value of the demand for which they were distrained on, which were afterwards taken to one of their own friends; while the fact was that no member of the Society of Friends would purchase anything under such circumstances, and he entirely denied the charge of collusion, which was implied. The members of the Society of Friends objected to the payment of these rates, in the first place, altogether, on religious grounds; they deemed all imposts of this nature not only at variance with the spirit of the Christian religion, but diametrically opposed to every precept of the New Testament; these were the real objections made by the Society of Friends; yet they did not feel precluded from taking the benefit of the law when such demands happened to be clearly illegal. Mr. Cooper again complained of the report. He felt confident the person who wrote it was in court, and called on him to avow it. The magistrate looked at the report complained of, and said that certainly nothing of the kind was mentioned before him, but he did not think it was worthy of observation. Mr. Cooper only referred to it, because it afforded an opportunity to give the statement an unqualified contradiction.

The inhabitants of the large and important parish of St. Margaret's Leicester, have this year, for the third time chosen a select vestry, pledged to oppose the laying of a church rate.

Mr. Symonds, an inhabitant of St. Mary Somerset, Thames-street, appeared at Guildhall on Wednesday last, to answer the complaint of the churchwardens for refusing to pay his quota to the church-rate. Mr. Symonds stated that he objected to church rates on principle—inasmuch as he received no benefit in return, not being a member of the church; and to the payment of salaries to the vestry-clerk, sexton, and others, from whose services he reaped no advantage. Mr. Alderman Farebrother replied, that if the defendant objected to the form and legality of the rate, the magistrates could hear him; but they were bound to administer the law, and could not alter it. He must pay the rate, and attend the vestry to object to any misappropriation. Mr. Symonds agreed to pay the amount.

Mr. S. Farrar, jun., appeared last week at the New Bailey, Manchester, in answer to a summons for refusing to pay 1*s.* 4*d.* church-rate for the parish of Prestwich. When called upon to show cause why he should not pay the rate, he disclaimed all intention of carrying the matter to the ecclesiastical court, inasmuch as he considered that court to be nothing better than a den of thieves; but said he had several objections to the rate, which he then stated. The magistrates overruled the whole. And one of them (Mr. Maude) proposed that Mr. Farrar should allow the churchwardens to take his umbrella as he was going out of court, and redeem it for the amount of the rate. Mr. F. declined any such compromise of his principles, and a warrant of distress was ordered against him. Mr. Peter Buckley, who had been summoned for a rate of 1*l.* 1*s.* 2*d.*, declared that he would act precisely as Mr. Farrar had acted, and another warrant was ordered against him.

A church-rate of 4*d.* in the pound has been carried at Monmouth by 223 to 163.

A public meeting was held in the Town's-room, Ilkeston, on Thursday se'nnight for the purpose of laying a church-rate; the Rev. J. R. Meek, curate, in the chair. The churchwarden, Mr. Norman, proposed a rate of 4*d.* in the pound; upon which an amendment was moved by Mr. M. Hobson, "that this meeting be adjourned until this day twelve months." The chairman refused to put the amendment, upon the plea that he had received instructions from the archdeacon, that in the event of any such amendment being proposed, he should resist all solicitation to put it from the chair, or run the risk of disobeying an ecclesiastical superior. A show of hands was then taken for the rate, when only five out of the whole meeting were held up. The following resolution was immediately entered in the vestry book, sign by the pro-rate party, and read to the meeting. "That we, the undersigned, do hereby tax and rate all and every the inhabitants of the parish of Ilkeston, at and after the rate of 4*d.* in the pound, according to the recognised value of their property in said parish, for the repairs of the parish church." The reading of this was received with great surprise, and another attempt was made to induce the chairman to put the amendment, but without success. Mr. Milner was then appointed chairman of the anti-rate party, and a protest against the rate and the unconstitutional conduct of the chairman, numerously signed, was entered in the vestry book.

On Easter Monday a church-rate contest took place at Lynn. A rate of 8*d.* in the pound was proposed by Mr. Self; an amendment for a rate of 2*d.* in the pound was proposed by Mr. Keed. A poll was demanded by Mr. Keed, and kept open till Wednesday at four o'clock, and closed as follows:—

|   |     |
|---|-----|
| For Mr. Self's motion of 8 <i>d.</i> .....      | 290 |
| For Mr. Keed's, of 2 <i>d.</i> .....            | 167 |
| Majority for a church-rate of 8 <i>d.</i> ..... | 123 |

[Half-measures never answer].

At Towsall church, Dartmouth, on Sunday last, the minister was obliged to postpone the administration of the Lord's Supper, because the churchwarden, who is a dissenter, had neglected to provide the bread and wine.—*Cornwall Gazette*.

Petitions to both houses of parliament against church-rates have been numerously signed by the various dissenting congregations in Devon.

A petition against the continuance of church-rates has been numerously signed at Chippenham. Will it be believed that a deacon of one of the dissenting chapels approves of the continuance of this impost, and refused to sign the petition? [Not so very uncommon].



**PUBLIC MEETING AT GATESHEAD.**—On Wednesday last, a public meeting of the inhabitants of Gateshead, was held in the town-hall, "to take into consideration the propriety of abolishing church-rates and ecclesiastical courts." There was a numerous attendance; and the proceedings were characterized by great unanimity and order. William Hymers, Esq., Mayor, presided, and several able speeches were made, some of them by churchmen. In moving the adoption of a petition, the Rev. E. Tasker, congregational minister, delivered a very eloquent address from which we subjoin the following extracts;—

In the course of his speech, the reverend gentleman said:—"It is sometimes seriously and sometimes flippantly asked, 'What has a minister of religion to do with politics?' It might be sufficient to reply to this query, that though a minister of religion, he is a citizen—though he sustains a peculiar character, and fills an office which is at the utmost remove from worldly affairs, his responsibilities and rights as a man are still the same. [Applause.] He has, indeed, nothing to do with politics as a minister of religion, nor will he, if he has a due regard to his own peace and usefulness, appear frequently in public as the partizan of either liberal or conservative principles. Still as a man—as a citizen—he is justly entitled to the privilege of expressing his sentiments, publicly or privately, with the greatest boldness, and without any reservation. [Applause.] But the object for which we are now convened is not entirely political—it is civil and religious. At the call and in the cause of humanity and religion we have assembled; the interest and welfare of both are involved in the question, and on its issue the advancement or retardation of truth is suspended. Both duty and inclination, therefore, solicit me to co-operate with you in this noble struggle for securing religious freedom; and while I have an intellect to comprehend, a heart to feel, and a tongue to express the dignity and importance of a theme which involves the social rights and religious privileges of my fellow-men, never will I shrink from the task. [Applause.] It is indeed strange that there should be any necessity, in the nineteenth century of the christian era, to discuss the principles of religious liberty, and to protest against any interference on the part of civil or ecclesiastical rulers, with the rights of conscience which God has made free. Is it not astonishing that men should have been so long in discovering, and men yet seem not to have discovered, that true religion is of too delicate a nature to be compelled, if I may so express myself, by the coarse implements of human authority, and worldly sanctions? Let the law of the land restrain vice and injustice of every kind, as ruinous to the peace and order of society—for this is its proper province; but let it not tamper with religion, by attempting to enforce its exercises and duties. These, unless they be free-will offerings, are nothing—they are worse. The avowed purpose for which church-rates are exacted is to make men religious, but the compulsory act of collecting them, defeats that design. [Cheers.] If church-rates are an unjust exaction on dissenters, ought they not to be abolished? And why have they not been abolished long ago? The reason is obvious to every reflecting mind: it is the almost complete apathy of the dissenters themselves. [Hear, hear, hear.] Shame upon them! There was a time, when we, as a nation, groaned beneath the yoke of a corrupt and venal House of Commons. When England was a slave-holding state. When Roman Catholics, on account of their religion were deprived of their civil rights—when the dissenters were not only prevented from enjoying the literary advantages of the British universities, but effectually deterred from holding any office under government by the imposition of an odious 'Test act.' But where are the rotten boroughs? where is the Slave Trade? where are the statutes depriving Catholics of their rights? where is the Test act? Among the things that were! [Loud applause.] How were these grievous wrongs redressed? How were they effectually removed? By the voice, the united influence of a freedom-loving, and intelligent people! But why do I mention these things? That ye may know, that ye may see, Englishmen! that, if duly vigilant, ye can have nothing to fear; and, that if ye will continue to indulge your apathy, and neglect to assert and maintain your rights, nothing can happen agreeably to your desires. Let us shake off our indolence; for you see how we are situated—you see the outrageous arrogance of our adversaries, who do not leave it to your choice whether you shall act or remain quiet—who not only brave all your menaces, but execute their iniquitous purposes—who not only distract your goods, and sell them by public auction, summon you before magistrates in the most insulting and brutal manner, cite you to appear in their vile ecclesiastical courts, tear you away from your families and home and domestic endearments—but even drag you through the public streets like robbers or murderers, and immure your persons in stinking prisons—and while we sit down inactive and irresolute, enclose you on all sides with their toils. Let your minds dwell on the imprisonment of Thorogood, of Young, and of Baines, until the fire of holy indignation burns in your breast against this monstrous system of iniquity. If these examples of barbarous outrage on humanity—if the story of these instances of cruelty and cupidity—if these acts of injustice were related to the uncivilized Esquimaux, it would kindle a sacred and generous resentment in their shivering breasts. If these individuals had been natives of another clime, and had suffered the same indignities and wrongs for conscience' sake in their own country, it would have been enough to inflame your anger; but they are your countrymen, born in the same clime, speaking the same language, and professing the same religion. Had they been found guilty of some crime by a jury of their peers, your pity would have been excited; but no jury of their countrymen has pronounced them guilty, and the only crime they have committed is the crime of obeying the voice of conscience and of God rather than men. [Applause.] Let the friends of civil and religious liberty only awake and appear in the field in well-disciplined ranks, and wield those weapons which God and nature have put into their hands—the weapons of argument founded on truth and scripture—and the armies of the aliens will be discomfited. 'Thrice is he armed that hath his quarrel just:' and their quarrel is just. Truth, justice, religion, yea, the Lord God of Sabaoth is on their side! with such resources, who can doubt that the victory will be theirs? The cause, indeed, already trembles in the balance—a few more vigorous efforts, and the mysterious hand will write 'TEKEL' upon church-rates. Then cheerly on, courageous friends! Your march is irresistible, your weapons are invincible, your cause is immortal. Vain will be all the attempts of your enemies, if you are true to your cause—to yourselves. As well might they attempt to bind the lightning with a skein of thread—chain the human imagination—or push the earth from its axle, as to resist the onward course of civil and religious freedom. They who will act as a drag-chain on the car of liberty, must expect to be, and will be, dragged in the dust. [Loud a protracted applause.]"

On Saturday week four respectable inhabitants of Greenwich, Messrs. Haycraft, Suter, Tyrell, and Buss, were summoned for non-payment of church-rates. Upon Mr. Haycraft's name being called, the churchwarden stated that he had received the amount of Mr. H.'s rate in an anonymous letter. Mr. Haycraft protested against such a disposal of his case, but to no purpose, the magistrate not being able to interfere. Warrants of distrainment were made out against the other parties.

Recently a church-rate of 4d. in the pound was granted to the churchwardens of St. Mary's, Huntingdon, without opposition.

**ECCLESIASTICAL SUPPRESSION.**—A Correspondent informs us, that, in the village of Great Waltham, in Essex, is a chapel called "Black Chapel," which, with certain funds for the payment of a minister, is vested in Trustees, with provision for the preaching of "the Gospel" in it. No sect is named as only being competent to preach that gospel. The pulpit has of late been filled by the Rev. Mr. Gurney (a relative of the Author of the family bible which bears his name) who has for some time laboured there with great acceptance. In consequence of the increased interest excited by his ministry, amongst the surrounding peasantry, an enlargement has lately become necessary, which has partly been effected by the voluntary contributions of the dissenting body. Matters appeared to be going on well—the word of the Lord seemed to have "free course, to run, and be glorified;" when in stepped "Ecclesiastical Suppression"—the Bishop of London fearing, perhaps that Scripture doctrine should be too plainly stated, prohibits the worthy minister (who, by the bye, so far departs from the example set him by his great predecessor as to think it at least expedient to obey man rather than God) from proclaiming the gospel of salvation beyond his parish boundary. His lordship has for some time been endeavouring to gain the appointment of the minister (which now rests with the Trustees) and appears to hope by that stratagem to gain his point. The Trustees resist—and the Chapel is closed. In consequence of this proceeding a barn, in which some twenty years ago services were held, has been re-opened for public worship, at which from 150 to 200 persons attend on the Lord's day evening. By what mistake that church, which thus deprives of gospel privileges the poor of this world, came to be called "The Poor Man's Church" perhaps some reader may be able to explain. The Bishop may be rich in faith as he is rich in gold,—but sure his faith works badly!

A summons for a church-rate having been lately dismissed at our police-office, on the ground that the churchwarden had not made personal application for the rate, we have been requested to give publicity to the law on this point, by copying the opinion of Dr. Phillimore, an eminent civilian, on a case laid before him last year by a gentleman residing in a neighbouring parish.—*Birmingham Gazette.*

*Opinion.*—"I am of opinion that the churchwarden is not bound to receive the rate in person, and that any parishioner who may be satisfied that the person demanding the rate has competent authority to receive it, cannot be legally justified in withholding the payment of the sum for which he may have been duly assessed."

Doctor's Commons, 21st March, 1840.

JOSEPH PHILLIMORE."

[This opinion ought to have been the opinion of a common law-barrister to have had authority upon such a point. The case had arisen upon a proceeding before a magistrate who is not an ecclesiastical officer, nor governed by ecclesiastical canons. Dr. Phillimore's opinion rather confirms the soundness of the decision which the magistrates have given.]

George Ofor, Esq., a magistrate of the Tower Hamlets, and for many years an active commissioner of the court of requests, has been deprived of his latter office through the influence of the clergyman and churchwardens of the district, on account of his refusal to pay church-rates. [Clerical spite never sleeps.]

**REFUSAL TO GRANT DISTRESS WARRANTS FOR CHURCH-RATES.**—On Friday last, the magistrates at Brighton gave their decision on a point which had been for a long time in dispute, respecting the church-rates for the parish of Brighton. The following are the facts:—A short time since, Colonel Trickey, Mr. Stocks, and several other gentlemen, were summoned for the nonpayment of the church-rate, which had been granted for the purchase of a piece of ground for a burial-ground, and which had given much dissatisfaction on the score of the expense, and the rate was opposed by the parties summoned, on the ground that the churchwardens had no right to put them to the expense. The magistrates held that as the rate had been agreed to by vestry, the inhabitants were bound to pay the amount. The persons summoned, however, still refused, and the bench were applied to to enforce their order by granting a distress warrant. Very long arguments took place before the bench, who at length refused to grant the warrants, because there was no evidence that the burial-ground had been legally secured to the parish, and until that was done they did not feel justified in enforcing the rate. Mr. Dempster, who, if the magisterial law holds good, will be placed in a very awkward situation, gave notice that he should apply to the Court of Queen's Bench for a *mandamus*.

On Thursday evening a public meeting was held in the Town Hall, Brighton, to consider the propriety of petitioning Parliament for the immediate and total abolition of church-rates. The large room was used on the occasion, and it was supposed that upwards of two thousand persons were present, amongst whom were several of the principal inhabitants of the town; Captain Pechell, one of the members for the borough, was also on the platform. The high constable was in the chair. Captain Pechell addressed the meeting, and in the course of his remarks, observed that he hoped to be able eventually to get a bill passed, and such ulterior measures taken, so as to suspend all suits in those courts of abomination called Ecclesiastical Courts, having received an assurance from Government that some steps should be taken to facilitate the object. He concluded by expressing his intention to follow up all the pledges he had given on the hustings, amongst which this question was one. [Loud cheers.]

**INTOLERANCE.**—A late dissenter, but now a clergyman in the established church, in a small village at the northern extremity of Buckinghamshire, has actually denied a house to a native of his own parish solely from the cause of his going to hear dissenting ministers, and allowing his child to go to their school.—*Bedford Mercury.*

**CHURCH EXTENSION.**—A petition, having for its prayer this object, is wending its way through "the streets, lanes, and bye-ways" of Boston, one having been made "according to order." Would it not be advisable, ere any money be expended in this "extension" scheme, to ascertain if the churches are all filled? and if not, whether accommodation could not be furnished for the different sects into which the Patent or Act of Parliament Church is now split up, by dividing some of the larger churches? Boston church, for instance, might be easily made quite capable of accommodating the Puseyites in the nave, the Evangelicals in the chancel, and the Orthodox in the bell-house. All that would be required would be two walls of brick, which might easily be taken down should Popery in name as well as in reality be again the religion adopted by the State, and all these sects return to the arms of Holy Mother.—*Stamford Mercury.*



## IMPERIAL PARLIAMENT.

## HOUSE OF COMMONS.

## PETITIONS FOR THE WEEK.

Church Rates, 96.—From Billericay, Braintree (two petitions), St. Ives, Tillingham, Bury St. Edmunds, Middlesbrough, Kildwick, Waltham Abbey, Stock, Wirksworth, Market Harborough, Woollaston, Guilsborough, Sudbury, King's Lynn, Halstead, Harlow, Mynyddslwyn, Castle Hedingham, Upminster, Coggeshall (two petitions), Lymington, Perth, Gildersome, Rotherham, Saffron Walden, Kettering, Bocking, Bonsall, Soham, Shrewton, Fordham, Framlingham, Thorpe, Ullesthorpe, Romsey, Wickford, Terling, Morpeth, Rothwell, West Haddon, Harleston, Deptford, Portsea, London, Wakefield, Towcester (two petitions), Blisworth, St. Ives (Cornwall), Ravens-thorpe, Harbourn, Weedon Beck, Daventry, Kingshorpe, Spratton (two petitions), Woollaston, Harpole, Moulton, Earls Barton, Tonbridge, Brentford (two petitions), Rochford, Newport Pagnell, Wern, Rettendon, Devizes (four petitions), Leith, Potters Pury, Great Dunmow, Witham, Stoke Goldington, Llanrhaeadr, Ingatstone, Broms-grove, Luton, Caddington, Taunton, Dunstable, Bishops Hull, Chepstow, Ragland, Great Driffield, Chairman of the Protestant Society for the Protection of Religious Liberty, Monmouth (two petitions), Whitechurch (Hereford), Truro, and Southampton.

Revision of Import Duties, 9.  
Corn Laws, for repeal of, 47; against, 21.  
Church Extension, 132.  
Church and State, Separation of, 1. Kelso.  
Registration (Irish) Bill. Lord Morpeth's, for, 3; against, 41.  
Lord Stanley's Bill, for, 40; against, 2.  
Church Patronage (Scotland) Abolition of, 5.  
Alteration of Poor Law, 9.  
Idolatry in India, Discouragement of, 3.  
Education, Promotion of, 1.  
Pardon of Frost, &c. 1.  
Better Observance of the Sabbath, 1.  
Substitution of Affirmations for Oaths, 4.

## PUBLIC BUSINESS TRANSACTED.

## MOTIONS.

1. Mr. GROTE—"That it appears that in October, 1840, the following resolutions were passed by the governor and legislative council of New South Wales. (The resolutions are to the effect that the British government at home ought to bear at least one half of the expenses of the New South Wales police and gaol establishments.) Previous question put—Ayes, 8; Noes, 52.
2. Lord CHARLES FITZROY—"Select committee to take into consideration papers relating to the Ionian States, ordered by the House of Commons to be printed, 22nd June, 1840"—Ayes, 10; Noes, 28.

## BILLS READ A SECOND TIME.

1. Factories Bill.
2. Silk Factories Bill.
3. London and Tower Hamlets Cemetery Bill, committed and referred to the Committee of Selection.
4. Court of Chancery (Ireland) Bill.

## CONSIDERED IN COMMITTEE.

1. Administration of Justice (No. 1) Bill.
2. Committee of Supply. Resolved, "That a sum not exceeding 21,626,350*l.* be granted to her Majesty to pay off and discharge any exchequer bills charged on the aids or supplies of the year 1841, now remaining unpaid and unprovided for.
3. Banking Copartnership's Bill.
4. Parliamentary Voters' (Ireland) Bill. First clause (poor-law commissioners to certify to the lord lieutenant when a poor rate shall be established in any county or borough, and upon the poor-law commissioners so certifying, the lord lieutenant to declare, that, upon the expiration of one month, this Act shall come into operation, in reference to the poor rate regulating the qualification of voters, and upon the expiration of such calendar month this Act to come into operation, and thenceforward no person to be entitled as a freeholder or leaseholder to be registered as a voter for such county in respect of any freehold or leasehold property in his actual occupation, save as herein provided:—Amendment proposed, to leave out the words "shall be entitled as a freeholder or leaseholder, to be registered as a voter for such county, in respect of any freehold or leasehold property in his actual occupation, save as herein provided," in order to add the following words, "claiming, under any Act or Acts now in force to be entitled to be registered and to vote as a parliamentary elector for any county, in respect of any freehold or leasehold property in his actual occupation, shall be deemed to have a beneficial interest therein of the clear yearly value required by such Act or Acts, except as hereinafter provided:—"—Question put, "That the words proposed to be left out stand part of the clause:—"The committee divided: Ayes 270, Noes, 291.—Proposed words added.
5. Administration of Justice Bill.—(Retired Annuity to Vice Chancellor.) Resolved, That her Majesty be empowered to grant to any person who shall have executed the office of vice chancellor, on his resignation thereof, an annuity, not exceeding 3,500*l.*, the said annuity to be paid out of the consolidated fund of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland.

## SUBSTANCE OF CONVERSATIONS.

Lord MORPETH gave the first intimation of the insincerity of government in introducing their Irish Registration Bill, by stating it to be their intention to raise the amount of net rating necessary to give the franchise for county voters, from 5*l.* to 8*l.* Upon this Mr. C. Wood inquired whether the returns asked for before the holidays, relative to the probable number of voters that there would be on the register, under any particular amount of rating, had been prepared, as they appeared to him indispensable to the proper discussion of the subject; to which Lord MORPETH replied, they had not yet come to hand; when they did, they should be presented without a moment's unnecessary delay.

Mr. FOX MAULE, in reply to a question put by Sir G. SINCLAIR, stated the facts of the case regarding the appointment of Mr. Candlish as professor of biblical criticism for the university of Edinburgh. The government, determining to appropriate the revenues of the dean's estates to purposes beneficial to the interests of education in Scotland, had on the first vacancy bestowed an endowment on the Principal of the university of Edinburgh; on the next, guided by the recommendation of the Scottish Universities Commissioners, they had resolved upon the establishment of a professorship of biblical criticism. Mr. Candlish was selected for the appointment as the fittest man. But before the communication of his appointment was made to Mr. Candlish, the secretary of state learned that he had set at nought an interdict of the court of session, obtained *ex parte*, and by men who were not manly enough to call upon the court to vindicate its authority. No further steps would be taken in the matter therefore at present.

On going into committee of supply on Friday night, Lord MAHON asked what was to be done by Government to fulfil the resolution which he had carried on the 23rd March against the continued imprisonment of convicts in the hulks? Lord JOHN RUSSELL cited the authority of the transportation committee against the formation of new colonies for convicts: he proposed to fulfil the vague terms of the resolution, by confining them in penitentiaries, as soon as they could be built; for he did not think it advisable permanently to retain a large number in the hulks. Sir ROBERT PEEL had concurred in the recommendations of the transportation committee; but though he would restrict the use of transportation as a punishment, he would not abolish it altogether: confinement in penitentiaries was less terrible to offenders than expatriation, because of a continued, even though

groundless, hope of release. Lord JOHN RUSSELL said, that a limited use of transportation would be combined with confinement in the prisons and punishment in the hulks.

## DEBATES.

Thursday, April 22.

## NEW SOUTH WALES.

Mr. GROTE reminded the House that the subject to which he now invited attention was the same as that which he had brought before it on 25th March, when the sitting of the House had been brought to an unexpected close. The resolutions he now proposed were the same as then—altered only to obviate an objection in point of form.

Since 1835 a heavy charge had been imposed upon the colony of New South Wales, in leaving to it the entire and undivided charge of the gaols and police of the settlement. Up to that time the revenue had been fully adequate to meet the demands of the colony; but since then the expenditure had been considerably increased, inasmuch that recourse had been had to trespassing on the land and emigration fund, which had been already pledged and consecrated to other purposes. The colonists thought that a case of extreme hardness and injustice. It should be remembered that this was originally a penal colony, and that it still retained marks of its origin, although it was daily assuming a different character. He knew it was common to say, that although there was a great number of convicts, a large portion of them were assigned to private masters, and it was assumed that the whole benefit of these assignments was on the side of the colony; but instead of this being the case, a sum of from three to four hundred thousand pounds a year accrued to this country from these assignments. In 1835 it had been estimated that the expense of the colony was 25,000*l.*, but it now amounted to more than four times that sum—it was above 100,000*l.* Was not that fact alone sufficient to justify him in calling upon the House to reconsider the whole subject? Had the government been aware of the state of the gaols at that period, they would have hesitated before they altogether liberated the imperial treasury, and threw the colony upon its own resources.

The hon. member urged that the possession of resources by the colony was no reason why they should bear charges which properly belonged to the mother country. One third of the population in 1835 were convicts sent from this country, and the free colonists ought not to maintain, without assistance, the whole expense of gaols and police, rendered necessary by a criminal population. But funds taken for this purpose out of the means provided for regular emigration heightened the evil. Emigration was important, especially at the present moment, transportation having been discontinued; all the means for the encouragement of it should be therefore unimpaired.

A sum of 250,000*l.* was taken from what was properly the emigration fund, and applied to the expenses of police and gaols. This was an injury, not merely to New South Wales, but the poorer classes of the united kingdom. It was taking away the means of assisting labouring men, who could find no employment in this country, to go to another part of her Majesty's dominions where labour had a ready market, and every industrious man could command ample means of subsistence.

All colonies, he said, would be affected by the manner in which the proceeds arising from the sale of waste lands were disposed of, for in all there was waste land, and its value depended on the application to be made of the purchase money. That it should not be considered as part of the ordinary revenue was the opinion of Lord Goderich and of Lord Glenelg.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER, after the Speaker had finished reading the first resolution, rose and said, it would be well to take the debate on that.

Originally the mother country had the whole expenses of the colony, and received its revenue, the revenue being less than the expenses, and the deficiency being made good by a parliamentary grant. That was a highly inconvenient arrangement, and it was changed by Lord Goderich in 1827; but he still left the expense of police and convicts on the mother country. In his despatch, however, he distinctly held out to the colony that, if its revenue should, at a subsequent period, be sufficient, it must take half the expense of the convict establishment; and he more especially pointed out the mixed expense of police as proper to be borne in part by the colony. The subject had probably been under the consideration of Lord Bathurst, but the despatch was signed by Lord Goderich. From 1827 to 1834, the arrangement continued as it had been fixed by Lord Goderich. In 1834 the revenue of the colony very much increased, and it was thought advisable by the treasury to make a new arrangement. That new arrangement was carried into effect by his noble friend Earl Spencer, then at the head of the treasury. It was not correct to say that this was a case in which the whole expense of police was thrown on the colony without equivalent. Some Crown revenues, not very large, certainly, were given up, and the colony was not charged with the expense of convicts employed (as we understood) on public works. The arrangement was not one by which a burden was simply thrown on the colony, but an interchange, by which some expenses were thrown on it and others taken away.

Claims for exemption from some particular charge were urged by every colony, and ought to be viewed with jealousy. The increased expenses of this colony had arisen from the increase of the colony itself, and the charges upon this country had augmented quite proportionably with the charges upon the colony. In 1830, the issue from the military chest in New South Wales cost this country 156,000*l.*, last year 332,885*l.* In effect, one-half of the expenses of the colony were paid by the mother country. He did not underrate emigration—but there were other modes of applying funds from the sale of lands, which assisted to raise the wealth of the colony—such as public buildings, harbours, and roads. If, however, the House thought that this country should pay a larger sum than it did, let some other way be proposed; for example, granting 50,000*l.* for emigration to New South Wales. He moved the previous question.

Mr. C. BULLER said,

The question to be considered was, whether it was worth while for this country to pay 40,000*l.* or 50,000*l.* for the purpose of encouraging emigration to New South Wales, a colony which, while it produced articles of the most valuable kind, consumed a large quantity of the produce of the mother country. If that were the question, he felt convinced that the universal feeling of this country would be, that it was well worth while to pay such a sum. It was a question of right and justice between the people and the government of the country.

The necessity for their heavy expenditure, he argued, arose out of this country sending to the colony her felonious population. Taxation there averaged 2*l.* a head, double the amount of burden borne by our own population.

Viscount MAHON thought the Chancellor of the Exchequer had met several of the objections, but the main positions of the colonists were yet untouched. Grievous distress prevailed in New South Wales. He then described the rapid growth of the colony, and declared that its prosperity was only arrested by government.

First of all, in 1834, came the act of Mr. Spring Rice, which threw on the colony the entire charge of the police and gaols, expenses incurred beyond all doubt in a great measure by the mother country for the maintenance of her convicts. Still, however, the colonists, although they complained of the hardness of the bargain, acquiesced in the compact thus forced upon them. In the next place, by the measure of the noble lord, hastily conceived, and without due information, the colony was deprived of the advantages which it derived from convict labour. It could not be denied that great distress had been the consequence. The governor of the colony, in a speech delivered in September last, stated, that in every public department the greatest difficulty was felt.

But he was not, he said, prepared to concur in any vote for the repayment of any sum of money taken from the land fund; the labour



of convicts from the year 1835 to 1841 was sufficient to cancel any such claim. He could not have supported the motion in its original form, but now that it proposed merely that the House should resolve itself into a committee "for the purpose of considering the manner in which the cost of gaols and police in New South Wales have been defrayed, and the manner in which the land fund has been expended since 1835," the mode and degree of the relief being left perfectly open, he felt himself at liberty to vote for it, reserving to himself the right of acting as he thought fit with regard to practical measures hereafter. He thought a *prima facie* case of grievance had been made out to justify the course proposed in the motion.

LORD JOHN RUSSELL stated that it would be very agreeable to one holding his situation to advise assistance to a colony whenever a motion was made, calling attention to a grievance with that view, and in the event of such advice being given, there would be no want of applications. £35,000 were paid towards military expenses by the inhabitants of the Ionian Islands. £5,000 by those of Malta. Ceylon and Jamaica were exposed to heavy liabilities for the same cause. Not a colony but could make out a case for relief, and governors usually recommended payment of certain expenses by this country on reaching their destination. Upon comparison of all the cases of colonies one with the other, he thought New South Wales had least cause of complaint.

When he heard honourable gentleman from Ireland state that the people of that country were in great distress, not being able to earn more than 6d. a day, and that the labourers and their families could get nothing to eat but bad potatoes, being rendered liable to fevers by their poor living and miserable condition, then he admitted that a case of distress was made out; but when the noble lord told him that there was plenty of labour, that wages were large, and that the rations of food were high, while he could understand that state of things to be a reason why a colony was not making the progress it would under a greater supply of labour, he must affirm that it proved no case of distress. On the contrary, it proved there was an abundance of capital in the country—so much that there was not labour enough fully to employ it. Was the lack of labour caused by the capital being withdrawn from the colony? All the papers which had been laid on the table of the House proved that such was not the case. By the last return, signed by the bishop of Australia, and prepared by a committee of the legislative council, it appeared that of 23,076 emigrants, about 18,000 had been sent out by government means; and, taking into account former returns, above 40,000 persons had been added to the population of that colony, at the expense of this country, and by the acts of the government, that expense amounting to nearly half-a-million of money. How then could it be said that nothing had been done for this colony? The sum of the whole complaint was this, that the colony might have advanced still more rapidly if the government had given 50,000l. a year more.

The noble lord went on to state that, setting aside moral considerations, all systems of slave labour were more profitable than others. The convict population was becoming alarming, would have ruined the colony, when Lord Ripon established the system by which lands of the crown became a source of improving the labour of the colony. The average revenue in 1833 and 1834 was 150,000l.; in 1840 it was 427,368l. This was the distress to relieve which the country was called upon to vote 50,000l. As to their taxation, as compared with that of our own people, the real question was, not how much they paid a head, but whether the burdens they had to bear were as heavy; and out of 202,000l. levied in New South Wales in 1838, 145,278l. was by imposts on spirituous liquors, wine, tobacco, &c., as proper objects of taxation as any that can be named. It was not fair to impose additional taxes upon this country, already sufficiently burdened, to relieve a colony which had so little to complain of. Penal expenses we paid, amounting to 300,000l. Promotion of emigration was undoubtedly important, but it was a matter of the highest importance also that sound discretion, guided by experience, should be used in the means taken to promote it.

It might be very true that a great number of people, who were suffering from great distress at home, with large families to support, without the means of doing so, might be desirous of emigrating in the hope of obtaining subsistence; but it did not at all follow that in all cases the parties who most wished to emigrate would be such persons as the colonists would most wish to have amongst them. [hear, hear.] Many of these starving and distressed persons would not be fit to take charge of the sheep, for which shepherds were so much required in New South Wales. The fact was, that young and vigorous hands were most wanted in the colonies, as elsewhere; and these, he found, did not form the bulk of those persons who were willing to emigrate, or whom the local authorities of various parts of the country would most wish to send abroad. Great discrimination and caution, therefore, were requisite in this matter, and he did not think that any scheme could be better than that which combined the sale of land with the promotion of free emigration, because the sale of land operated as a check upon emigration, and a guarantee that it was not misdirected. In New South Wales this principle had been adopted under a peculiar form, entitled the bounty system. To hear the noble lord opposite, and the honourable gentleman who had moved this question to-night, it would really be supposed that the bounty system had been abandoned and put a stop to. But, what was really the fact? It appeared from the statement of Sir G. Gipps that the proceeds from the sale of lands in 1839 was 152,000l., and that during the same period the land sales account had been charged for the purposes of emigration to the extent of 158,000l.; being actually 6,000l. more than the proceeds of the last sales. Sir G. Gipps also said, and said properly, that in future the expenses of the surveys should be charged upon the land fund; but at the same time he had never said anything to the purport that the bounty system should be discontinued. Neither had Sir G. Gipps been instructed from this country to do anything of the kind. But what Sir G. Gipps had been told was this, that it was very imprudent to incur so large an expenditure in the colony, and not to provide taxes to meet it, and therefore that it was desirable to take means either to diminish the expenditure of the government, or to increase the taxes and local rates.

He thought emigration desirable; an influx of free emigrants and an infusion of a new and more respectable class of persons would, in all probability, lay the foundation of a great, a prosperous, and a moral community, in that colony.

He was happy to perceive that the population of this colony already began to show symptoms of very considerable improvement in their moral condition; assimilating more in their habits and character to that of the mother country, and giving evidence of advancement towards that period when they might be entrusted safely with a representative constitution, and a free control over their own income and expenditure; vital political principles, which, as they had been the foundation of the prosperity of the parent state, would also, he trusted, lay the foundation of prosperity and honour in the great community of the colony of New South Wales. [cheers.]

SIR W. MOLESWORTH conceded the correctness of the principle, that the local expenditure of colonies should be borne by themselves; but the case of New South Wales was peculiar, from the fact of its having been so long a penal settlement. Demoralization was consequently great. To compel the colonist, therefore, to pay the whole expense of police and gaols, was to throw upon them a portion of the expenses of the criminal jurisprudence of the mother country.

Our colonies were well worthy of attention and encouragement at the hands of the mother country. They opened to us the most valuable markets for our commodities which we enjoyed, excepting only that of the United States; and it was most important to encourage those markets at the present moment, when we were threatened with the loss of the markets of the north of Europe. To maintain the colonies as a useful appendage in a commercial point of view, it was necessary that a constant influx of free labour should be kept up in them. The land fund was the best means available for promoting this object, because it operated as a test and guide to the quantity of emigration required. The net proceeds of this fund should be applied to this purpose without any deduction. The present population of South Australia was necessarily in a very demoralized state, and if it were considered desirable to ame-

liorate it, that could only be done by swamping the disreputable portion of the community by the addition of a great number of respectable emigrants from the mother country. And yet, with this desirable object in view, was it prudent to misappropriate from this important object so large a sum as 50,000l. a year? It was because he did not approve of this principle that he cordially supported the motion of the member for London.

SIR R. PEEL admitted the double advantage of emigration to this country—increasing the population of distant colonies, and relieving us from our superfluous numbers. But if 50,000 or 60,000l. were to be given by way of aiding to swamp a demoralized population with respectability, where should we stop? Canada might put in a claim. Putting aside the pledge given by Lord Glenelg to the colony of South Australia, he could not see the smallest claim which the colony had upon this country. If the case of South Australia was peculiar as being a penal settlement, and consequently subjected to a much heavier expense for police and gaols, it should be recollected, on the other hand, that these convicts had been a means of peculiar prosperity to the colony. Referring to a pamphlet, entitled, "An Appeal on the part of the Colony," he found that in 1807 only 245lbs. of wool were shipped from it; in 1839, 10,128,000lbs., and the increase was mainly attributed to the immense command of convict labour.

He was induced to take a part in this debate, from a regard for that unfortunate sufferer the public treasury, which he firmly believed to be the most oppressed and helpless object of any presented for public sympathy. [hear, hear, and a laugh.] If a colony were poor, if she had no commerce, if her export were rapidly decreasing, there was strong ground, it was urged, for the mother country affording her relief. If, on the other hand, there can be shown an enormous increase of prosperity, that the amount of the wool trade, for example, had quadrupled, and that trade was in a flourishing state, then it is said the mother country gained a large per centage on the amount of exports, and that nothing would be more unwise than to check the supply of funds from the mother country, which had already supplied so rich a harvest. So that whether a colony were rich or poor, equally strong grounds were urged why the public treasury should bear the whole of its burdens. [hear, hear, and a laugh.]

He contemplated with anxiety the tendency to burden this country with expense. New South Wales, being chiefly interested, could better bear the expense than we.

After twenty-three years of peace, he saw in every country, whether governed by despotic authorities or by popular institutions, the alarming prospect which the growing defalcation of revenue as compared with expenditure exhibited—the ultimate paralysis of industry and the suspension of that career of prosperity which had hitherto prevailed. [hear, hear.] It was certainly a new feature in the history of nations, that with professions of profound peace, a government should expend in fortifying a city at so enormous a sum as 30,000,000l. The only effectual means of checking the evil to which such a state of things must give rise, was by disposing the minds of the people to alter those warlike pursuits, instead of encouraging feelings of hostility, of jealousy, and of military rivalry. [loud cries of "hear, hear," from both sides.] He could not help stating his impressions (when delivering his opinion on a question of revenue as regarded ourselves) of the course which every country seemed now bent on pursuing as to their expenditure.

After a few words from Mr. WARD and Sir R. INGLIS, in favour of the motion, and some pithy observations by Mr. HUME against it, the House divided.

For the previous question ..... 52  
For the motion ..... 8

Friday, 23.

#### ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE (No. I.) BILL.

The House having resolved into committee on this bill, filled up clause 1, with the words, 14th August, 1841, and agreed to clauses 1 to 6 inclusive. On moving the 7th clause,

SIR E. SUGDEN rose, and said that as this clause proposed to transfer to the Accountant-General of the Court of Chancery, the funds now standing to the accountant-general of the Court of Exchequer, he wished to have from the attorney-general an estimate of the probable amount of the future income of the former. The present amount was amply sufficient. The public would pay the additional amount of clerks, and the increased amount of fees would go to enlarge his emoluments.

The ATTORNEY-GENERAL was not prepared to answer, but did not think the addition to the present salary of the accountant-general to the Court of Chancery would be great.

SIR E. SUGDEN moved that the clause stand over until the information could be given.

The ATTORNEY-GENERAL opposed it. It was of great importance that there be no further delay.

The gallery was cleared for a division, but none took place.

SIR E. SUGDEN re-stated his reasons for opposing the clause for the information of members who had come into the house at the ringing of division bell. The income of the accountant-general was between 4,500l. and 5,000l., whilst other masters in Chancery had but 2,500l. He would not agree to the clause until it was satisfactorily explained.

MR. GOULBURN would give the additional emoluments as compensation to those officers whose offices were abolished.

LORD JOHN RUSSELL saw no objection to the suggestion of the last speaker, but the proposition of the member for Ripon was of a totally different nature.

SIR E. SUGDEN stated that the insertion of a proviso to this effect, would meet his wishes.

After some further remarks by the Solicitor-General, Mr. Buller, Mr. O'Connell, and Mr. Hume, Sir E. Sugden withdrew his opposition.

The 8th, 9th, 10th, 11th, 12th, 13th, 14th, 15th, 16th, 17th, and 18th clauses were then agreed to without discussion.

On the 19th clause, which relates to the appointment of two new vice-chancellors being read,

The ATTORNEY-GENERAL moved that the blank left in the number of new judges to be appointed in Chancery be filled up with the word, "two." The proposal when under consideration in the other House, met with the approval of Lords Lyndhurst, Langdale, and the Lord Chancellor. Lord Brougham it was true had objected.

At present it was matter of complaint that unless the sum sought to be recovered amounted to 1,000l. it was of no use to seek for justice in a court of equity. Now, it was his belief, that by the regulations now in contemplation, such expedition would be introduced into those courts, as utterly to do away with the reproach. The vice-chancellor had recorded his opinion, that, although two judges might be enough at present, it would before long become necessary to increase their number. He would most respectfully submit to the committee the expediency of adhering to the bill sent down to them from the Lords in the last session of parliament.

MR. HUME quoted the opinion of Lord Brougham, that it was unnecessary to saddle the country with the expense of new judges, and



adverted to the experience which government had had in the Court of Bankruptcy and its four judges.

The ATTORNEY-GENERAL said the latter remark was inapplicable. There it was a question of one court and four judges—here, of two new courts having one judge each.

Sir E. SUGDEN thought the creation of two new courts impolitic. It would require an additional bar and attorneys—and unless care were taken, make this a lawyer-ridden country. He wished to know what alterations were to be made in the practice of the master's office, before he could sanction five separate courts of Chancery sitting concurrently. The appellate jurisdiction both in the House of Lords and Court of Review were a reproach to the country, and the consequence of creating two more courts would be, that they would have four judges, having not only co-ordinate, but subordinate jurisdiction, sitting at the same time. The lord chancellor, who had already too much to do, would have to hear all appeals from three courts, or they must be brought to the House of Lords. Sir E. Sugden dwelt upon the inconveniences of this arrangement.

He saw no reason, therefore, why, even admitting the necessity of two courts to exist, they should not postpone the appointment of the second until they saw how the first would operate co-ordinately with the three already in existence. For his part he firmly believed that the creation of those two courts at the same time would lead to an incalculable amount of mischief. It was provided by this bill, that upon the demise of the first judge the office should be filled up, but not upon the demise of the second. It must be observed, however, that then they would have brought into practice an additional number of barristers and solicitors to meet the demand of that court. What was to be their employment? These were questions which led him to believe that plenty of reasons would be found and strongly advanced for continuing that second court; for he was of opinion, that whatever number of courts they created, the business to be done would accommodate itself to that number, however well it might be done with less. [A laugh.] The right hon. gentleman concluded by moving that the blank be filled up with "one" instead of "two."

Mr. LYNCH supported the clause.

Mr. PEMBERTON said, that he was not prepared to give his assent to all the propositions which had been urged by his right hon. and learned friend. In deference to the evidence which had been given on this subject before the select committee of the House of Lords, to the opinions held by those learned persons of all political parties who had held judicial offices, and to the opinions expressed by members of the profession who were better judges than himself of the impossibility of obtaining justice in the courts of equity as at present constituted, he did not feel prepared to oppose the proposition of her majesty's government. When he said this, he must at the same time state that he thought the country had great reason to complain of the mode in which this measure was now brought before the legislature. When a bill precisely similar to the present was brought down from the House of Lords at the close of last session, the noble lord opposite (Lord J. Russell) postponed the consideration of that measure, because he told the House and the country that there was not then sufficient time to consider a bill of such deep importance. The noble lord also stated, that this change was connected with many others that were in the contemplation of the government, and which would have a material bearing upon the particular measure now under consideration, and the noble lord told the house and the country, in language stronger than he (Mr. Pemberton) should like to make use of, that the mode in which the business of the judicial committee of the Privy Council was administered was a discredit, not to say a disgrace, to the country. The noble lord on that occasion also agreed, that the Court of Review was another establishment which of necessity must undergo investigation. That court, it was true, had been allowed to dwindle down from four judges to one judge, and he was sure it would meet with universal approbation if that court were wholly abolished, and the solitary judge that was left appointed to some other office for which his learning and acquirements fitted him. The amendment or improvement of the supreme court of appeal, the House of Lords, was also a matter closely connected with the subject now under consideration, and yet of this the noble lord was now silent. If the Court of Review was to be abolished, surely this bill ought to provide for adding its jurisdiction to the new judge in equity to be appointed under this bill, and thus, if there was any deficiency of business for the new court, this arrangement would furnish a supply. But he asked, was it fair on the part of the Government towards the country, when bringing this isolated measure forward, not to tell the House what were their views on these important subjects? Was it right, after the first Minister of the Crown in that house had pronounced such a sentence upon one of the most important as a tribunal of justice, as that it was a discredit, if not a disgrace, to the country, that the house and the country were now unable to learn from the noble lord, or from the law officers of the Crown, whether it was intended to make any alterations in that court, and if so, what those alterations would be?

With regard to the particular question now before the committee, he urged that the evidence taken before the committee of the House of Lords proved that the average arrear of causes in the Court of Chancery was between 600 and 700. Two or three years must elapse in the Vice-Chancellor's Court between the time at which a cause was set down for hearing and the time at which it was heard. At present the total number of causes in a state for hearing in the Rolls Court was 139; in the Vice-Chancellor's Court they were 619, which, disposed of even at the rate of 200 a year, would require the lapse of three years before they were all heard. He was not, therefore, inclined to oppose the proposition of the Attorney-General.

Mr. C. BULLER looked on this as a first step towards a great and useful series of law reforms. He was glad the commencement was made with the Court of Chancery, and hoped it would not end there. He mentioned the following case, "Day v. Croft."

A person died, and left property of the estimated value of 400,000*l.* The wife and daughter made an application to the Master of the Rolls for relief, under the following circumstances:—they had each an annuity of 3,000*l.* bequeathed to them by the testator, but in consequence of some litigation with which they had nothing to do, the property was tied up in Chancery, and they could not touch a single penny of it. They had been compelled to borrow money to the amount of 12,500*l.*, and were paying interest at the rate of 6*½*% a year. More than that, they had insured their lives by way of security. Their claim was utterly undisputed, and yet they were deprived of their property. There were several other annuitants under the same will, who were suffering in consequence of the property being in Chancery, some of them being reduced to extreme distress. For instance, one of them having received 40*l.* a year from Mr. Day during his life, had the same amount bequeathed to him, but his income was now stopped, and he had no other resource, and nothing in prospect but the workhouse.

He asked Sir E. Sugden whether he would not himself, if he had a legacy of 10,000*l.* left to him, rather accept of 8,000*l.* than go into Chancery.

Sir E. SUGDEN said, that if a thousand more judges were called into existence, still the evils complained of by the hon. gentleman would not be removed, because they did not originate with the judges, the fault being partly in the rules of court and partly in the complicated claims of the different parties who were not agreed among themselves, as in the case referred to by the hon. gentleman. The widow might say, "Give me my annuity." But the answer to that was, naturally enough, "Stop until we see that the estate is sufficiently clear of all liabilities to afford you the full amount you claim." The hon. gentleman had asked, supposing a legacy of 10,000*l.* were bequeathed to him, would he not take 8,000*l.* rather than stay in the Court of Chancery? To be sure he would. But he would then file a supplemental bill to make the adverse party account for the difference.—(Great laughter.)

He denounced the abolition of the Exchequer Equity Court, a permanent one, for these two newly-created ones, professed temporary, as absurd, and predicted that these, when once established, would never be discontinued.

A few remarks having been made by the Attorney-General and Mr. J. Stewart in support of the clause, and by Mr. Wakley—who said he had little hopes of good from this reform which originated with the lawyers—against it, the word "two" was inserted, and the clause,

as amended, was agreed to, as were also clauses up to 35, almost without remark.

On the 35th clause, it was proposed by Government to fix the salaries of the new judges at 5,000*l.*

Mr. PEMBERTON moved an amendment, to substitute 6,000*l.*, which Sir E. Sugden supported.

Mr. HUME hoped that Government would resist the proposed augmentation. Five thousand pounds, he was sure, would buy the services of any lawyer.

No division ensued, and the salaries were fixed at 5,000*l.* as proposed by Government.

In the place of clause 56, the CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER moved the insertion of a clause providing "That no person who was appointed to his office or employment in the Court of Exchequer after the 14th day of March, 1840, shall claim, or be entitled to any compensation whatever, in consequence of his said office or employment being abolished, or affected by this bill." The Chancellor of the Exchequer proceeded to say, that the appointment of Mr. Scarlett to a mastership in the Exchequer took place after a bill had been introduced to abolish the equity side of the Exchequer. He had, therefore, no right to look for compensation for the abolition of the office. The Chief Baron thought differently, and Government had deemed it better to refer the matter for decision to Parliament.

Sir W. FOLLETT said it would be a great hardship on a gentleman of five years' standing in his profession to withhold compensation from him for the abolition of an office, to accept which he had been obliged to renounce his profession. He should move to omit the proposed date, and to substitute the words "at the time of the passing of this act."

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER was quite in favour of a liberal system of compensation, but did not think it good policy to establish the principle, that a man who accepted an office which he knew was about to be abolished by Parliament, should be entitled to compensation, just as if he had discharged the duties for a long series of years.

Mr. GOULBURN and Sir R. PEEL spoke in favour of the principle of compensation.

LORD JOHN RUSSELL stated, that his own private secretary had been appointed to an office connected with the Board of First Fruits, after a bill had been introduced to abolish the tenths and first fruits. The bill did not pass till the ensuing year; but when it did pass, that gentleman was the only officer connected with the establishment who did not receive compensation.

Mr. PEMBERTON was of opinion that nothing could be more unjust than to abolish an office of this description without compensation. The patronage of such offices was held to be very valuable, and constituted a species of property of which men ought no more to be deprived than of any other portion of their possessions. If the public interest rendered its abolition unavoidable, then there could be no question that compensation ought in every case to be awarded. In the high and palmy days of Whig ministerial power certain patronage belonging to the Lord Chancellor was abolished, but 1,000*l.* a year was added to his income, in order to compensate him for the loss. He really must express a hope that the right hon. gentleman opposite would not persist in refusing this compensation.

LORD J. RUSSELL said that any decision to which the House might come, whether it proved agreeable or adverse to the view taken by his right hon. friend and himself of the question before them, would prove equally satisfactory to his mind. He was quite prepared to abide by any decision to which the house might come on the subject; but he could not assent to the doctrine that the House of Commons were not to legislate on matters of great public importance and urgency without taking into consideration what might be the view entertained of the measure by the other House of Parliament; [Hear, hear]—that, in fact, they were not to consider matters of this nature until the House of Lords had previously settled the money clauses. [Cheers.] It was not a question of the exercise of their own privileges, it was not a question of compromise with the House of Lords, but it was a question which involved the absolute transfer of the powers of the House of Commons. [Hear, hear.]

Sir E. SUGDEN observed, that nothing had fallen from his hon. and learned friend to call for the remarks which the noble lord had just made. The noble lord appeared to have forgotten the whole course of the proceedings which had taken place with reference to this matter. The Lords passed the bill last year without making any compensation, and for this obvious reason, that they possessed no power to do so. The right hon. gentleman the Chancellor of the Exchequer appeared to forget that a judicial office was one which must of necessity be filled up; the appointment to it could not be delayed, and there was nothing to show that the individual so appointed might not be called upon to discharge the duties of that office to the end of his life. Certainly a bill for its abolition had been introduced, but it did not necessarily follow that that bill was to pass. He repeated, that there was nothing in the observations of his hon. and learned friend to justify the appeal which the noble lord opposite had made to the passions of the house. The noble lord appeared to have forgotten the more sober appeal to the reason of the House which the Chancellor of the Exchequer had made.

Mr. JONES, Mr. C. BULLER, and several other legal gentlemen, contended for the right of Mr. Scarlett to a compensation, on the ground that the office was a piece of patronage that fell fairly into the hands of the Chief Baron, and of which, therefore, he ought to be allowed the full advantage.

There was some further conversation on this subject. Eventually the committee divided, when Sir W. Follett's amendment was carried by a majority of 73 against 70.

It was afterwards admitted that if Mr. Scarlett succeeded to a peerage, the annual compensation should cease, as in that case he must, at all events, have renounced the office.

The CHAIRMAN then reported progress, and the House resumed.

Monday, 26.

REGISTRATION OF VOTERS (IRELAND) BILL.

—Lord MORPETH moved that the House do go into committee on this bill. This being done, after a few verbal amendments,



Lord Howick, in proposing the amendment on the first clause, of which he had given notice, apologized for taking upon himself an office which some would think did not belong to him. If he had no intimate knowledge of Ireland, if he commanded the support of no powerful party, he was not on the other hand mixed up with Irish political and religious animosities, he disclaimed any prospect of party advantage and all feelings of hostility towards the government. He could not support the clause as it now stood—he declined directly to negative it—and he therefore proposed a substitute. The advantage for Ireland of a simple and easily-ascertained test he felt most fully, and desired sincerely for that country a *bona fide* constituency. He thought, however, Lord Morpeth's bill proposed an unnecessary and unwise extent of change. The right of voting was based on property.

It had been so before the passing of the Reform Act, and since that act had passed it had still continued the same. The single apparent exception to the rule existed in England, and was that of the voter who enjoyed the franchise by virtue of a 50*l.* tenancy. This exception was not real but apparent, because, as it appeared to him, it proceeded on the assumption (and a just assumption it was) that the fact of a tenant being able to pay a rent of 50*l.* necessarily implied that he was in possession of a qualification fully equal to the property which a freeholder was required to possess. [Hear, hear.] The principle was the same in Ireland, for, however parties might differ as to the construction of the words "beneficial interest," yet in all the disputes which had taken place on the subject, it seemed to be universally admitted that some profit ought to be understood—some benefit on the part of the tenant beyond his lease and other charges. Now, the clause of his noble friend would entirely set aside that principle. If that clause were adopted in its present shape, a person holding a lease for fourteen years, and rated at an amount of 8*l.*, would be entitled to claim the right of voting; he would be able to do so, even though he should be charged with a rent of 16*l.* instead of 8*l.*, so that his farm, instead of being a property, would be an actual burden to him. In this case the principle to which he had adverted with respect to the English 50*l.* tenant did not apply, because, on the system on which land was occupied in Ireland, the circumstance that a tenant held land of 8*l.* yearly value afforded no proof whatever that he was in possession of capital, in consideration of which he ought to be entitled to the franchise. No one could venture to say that the mere fact of holding a cabin with a few acres of land, rated at 8*l.*, afforded in Ireland the slightest proof that the occupier should, in virtue of that qualification, be entitled to a vote. Therefore he was bound to regard the clause of his noble friend in its present form as entirely setting aside that which was known and universally recognized as their guiding principle in legislation. [Great cheering.]

The fault of the present system arose not more from want of agreement as to the proper construction of the words "beneficial interest," than from the fact that, supposing the construction to be agreed on, still the only test of the surplus value of property held on lease would be the opinion of parties having a strong interest one way or other, and an opinion supported by oath. All experience showed that it was impolitic in subjects of this kind to depend upon the oath of strongly-interested parties. He proposed to obviate these objections. He proposed to ascertain the real interest which the person claiming to vote possessed in the property which was to form his qualification. He proposed that the value of the property should be ascertained by the valuation taken for the purpose of assessment to the poor-rates. Having thus ascertained the value, he examined the lease of the claimant. By deducting the value of the rent reserved for the lease, a test of the interest of the voter was obtained, which appeared to him liable to no objection.

By the machinery already provided by Parliament, a valuation might soon be obtained which might be relied upon, viz., the Poor Law valuation. As to the amount of interest so ascertained that might properly be fixed upon to confer the right to vote, he thought 10*l.* too high—higher than that contended for by those who adopted "the solvent tenant test."

He proposed that the sum of 5*l.*, excess of value beyond the rent and charges to which the person who claimed the right to vote was liable, should be considered a sufficient qualification. He thought that hon. gentlemen on that side of the House must agree in his suggestion for this reason:—They had admitted, as he had already stated, that the words "beneficial interest" clearly meant some profit to be enjoyed by persons claiming to vote, that 10*l.* beyond all charges was according to the existing law—that which constituted the claim to vote. He could see no good reason for rejecting the amendment which he proposed; because, from the principle laid down by hon. gentlemen opposite, and from admissions made by them during the late debate as to the extreme importance of obtaining a well-ascertained test of the right to vote, they could hardly now with consistency reject his proposition. Hon. members at his (Lord Howick's) side of the house might adopt the proposition of his noble friend the Secretary for Ireland without rejecting his amendment, which went to continue a class of voters to which he was sure no objection could be made. The whole of that class of persons who claimed a right to vote from freeholds in fee, that was from *bona fide* property, would derive great advantage from his amendment; while it was perfectly obvious that, according to the clause of his noble friend, no person would be able to claim that right unless the property he occupied was rated at 8*l.* Persons who paid no rent for property rated at 5*l.* would be excluded from the register by his noble friend's clause. Thus would voters of an independent description obtain the franchise under his amendment, and forfeit it under the clause of his noble friend. In the same manner, persons paying 1*l.* rent for land which they had either greatly improved, or had reclaimed from bog or mountain land, having holdings of 7*l.*, or just under 8*l.*, could claim the franchise under his amendment, but would be entirely excluded by his noble friend's proposition.

He admitted the necessity of supplying the deficit in the constituency which his amendment might create, and was not inclined to propose that this should be the only change adopted in Lord Morpeth's bill. He insisted upon no lease, whilst his noble friend insisted upon one of fourteen years. He proposed this second change to prevent further demands, for he held that frequent political changes was an evil of the greatest magnitude.

He was aware, in proposing this alteration, he would be met by the objection, that tenants without leases did not possess that independence which qualified them to vote; and he knew that many gentlemen attributed a very prejudicial operation to the clause introduced into the Reform Act by the Duke of Buckingham. But, in his opinion, this was an objection to which a very undue force had been attached. As far as he had been able to observe the working of the system in England, it appeared to him that tenants generally, whether they had leases or not, were extremely anxious to vote with their landlords, and that in all ordinary times, when no particular question upon which they held strong opinions, or which was likely to cause excitement, was being agitated in the country, they did so vote with their landlords. But, in times of a different character, which were fortunately of rare occurrence, such, for instance, as that of the Reform Bill, he thought that tenants at will, and all others entitled to vote, threw off the influence of their landlords, and voted according to their own individual opinions. It was true that at the period of the Reform Act there were no voters who enjoyed the right of voting in consequence of occupation of land without leases; but a great number of persons holding land under landlords in English counties who possessed a 40*l.* franchise, and who in ordinary times would have been under the influence of those landlords, did at that period vote and act according as they pleased themselves, and without any reference whatever to the wishes of their landlords. So that there was no real practical difference in point of independence between the tenant who held a lease and the tenant who did not. He was confirmed in these views by what took place in Scotland. In Scotland the tenantry almost universally held leases; and, if he wanted to mention a particular election which more than any other since the Reform Act had given rise to the loudest complaints of undue influence, he would be inclined to fix upon that for the county of Perth, at which the hon. gentlemen the Under-Secretary for the Home Department was defeated. Now, he believed that the tenants over whom that influence had been exercised were, almost without exception, tenants holding leases for the long period of nineteen years. Experience, then, proved that in England and Scotland a mere lease was no proof of the independence of the voter.

Lord Morpeth's plan proposing rent with a lease of fourteen years

as the basis of constituency, was far too low a qualification for the right of voting. In consequence of competition, small tenements were greatly over-rented—their occupiers were persons in a very low situation of life—votes might be created by landlords to an immense extent. The lease, therefore, would only be a stone tied about the neck of the voter—instead of making him a free man it would but enslave him. Besides the indisposition of landlords in Ireland, to grant leases was very remarkable, the number of voters would dwindle away, and Parliament would have to do its work again.

The tendency of the clause proposed by his noble friend was, to extend the franchise in ill managed estates, where the landlords, tempted by a desire to increase their rental, would cut up their lands into small portions for separate holdings. Thus a class of voters would be created of the lowest grade, and mostly under the influence of the least substantial and the least opulent landlords. At the same time, the operation of the measure would exclude a large proportion of the more respectable and independent classes. If any new franchise were to be introduced into Ireland, it would be far more expedient to take a greater value than his noble friend had proposed, than to adopt the clause as it stood, extending it to persons holding leases of 14 years of the yearly value of 8*l.* He would give the preference to a simple occupation franchise.

The diminution of the constituent body, he said, was not an evil existing only in anticipation, but had begun already. In six years, the reduction of voters in Ireland, was 7563. That was an unanswerable argument for stepping in, and providing a remedy.

His noble friend, [Lord Stanley] had talked of waiting until the evils were actually felt before they attempted to apply remedies. But was it safe to deal with the discontent of a whole people? Was it wise to wait until discontent arose to a height at which it was no longer tolerable, before they attempt to apply a remedy? He had thought that this pitiful policy had been sufficiently tried in the case of the Catholic Emancipation bill. He never expected that any one would again dream of deferring a remedy until it could no longer be withheld without danger to all. His noble friend must be sensible that whether his or any other measure, were adopted, the practical effect of it must depend very much upon the temper and spirit in which it was granted and received. Let them, then, whether they passed a measure for correcting the evils complained of by his noble friend the member for North Lancashire, or for counteracting the causes which produced a diminution in the number of voters, couple with either measure one for extending the franchise, and admitting within the pale of the constitution persons who would otherwise be utterly excluded from it.

He then successively addressed both sides of the House urging mutual concession. The ministerialists could vainly hope to carry an extension of the franchise, without admitting also a thorough purgation of the register. Conservatives would not succeed in effecting the latter without conceding the former. A settlement ought to be effected in the present year, in which all parties could concur. The noble lord then moved to omit, after "no person," all the words to the end of the clause, and to insert, "claiming under the act or acts now in force to be entitled to be registered, and to vote as a parliamentary elector for any county, in respect of any freehold or leasehold property in his actual occupation, shall be deemed to have a beneficial interest therein of the clear yearly value required by such act or acts, except as hereinafter provided."

The question having been put,

Lord MORPETH did justice to the honourable member's motives, and claimed for the government exemption from any charge that they were disposed to stand upon extreme opinions. To conciliate scruples they had consented to raise the franchise. However, they rested their proposition upon its own abstract merits. The propriety of resting the basis of the future franchise upon some grounds easy of access and proof, was one of the good results of the discussions which had taken place, and he sympathised in the wish of his noble friend, that the constituency of Ireland should not be diminished by alteration. He feared the amendment would in the most startling manner counteract that wish. If agreed to it would make a material change in the definition of a beneficial interest.

He adhered therefore to the proposition of government as more distinct, intelligible, and straightforward. Had Lord Howick proposed his £5. rate clause, over and above the ministerial proposition of a net annual value of £8. he should not have objected, because in that case it would only have been an enlargement of the principle adopted by government. The very contrary, he contended, would be found to be the case. The proposal was open to serious objections. First, in the amendment now before the House, no amount of rating was stated as a qualification for the franchise; this was to be matter for a subsequent amendment. Ministers had been stigmatized for attempting to introduce a new form and condition of elective franchise in Ireland—one at variance with the three reform acts passed in 1832. Those bills, as at first introduced, actually attempted to confer the franchise on leaseholders of every description; and the proposition of ministers was intended to hit at and include that class of persons on whom it was intended by the Reform Bill to confer it. They were only acting in the spirit of that great measure, giving effect to the true form and principle of it.

The noble lord, the member for North Lancashire, had not attempted any solvent tenant test; but his noble friend the member for Northumberland, not only attempted this, but more, for he did not at all diminish the evil and the stringency of the solvent tenant's system, in proposing that a new assessment should take place; for he believed that in practice it had always been found that valuations, made under such circumstances, for the purpose of rating, were always much lower than any valuation not taken for such a purpose. It seemed that in such a case the interests of each contending party operated to beat down the ratings as far as possible; and, therefore, if a new rating were made according to his noble friend's proposition, he apprehended that the rating would be in all cases found to fall very short of the actual value. He was enabled, in fact, to test the probable operation of his noble friend's proposition by the returns of the poor-law rating, which had actually taken place. He would beg, therefore, from the returns actually before the house, to take a few instances of the effect which such a scheme as that proposed by his noble friend would have; in a word, to show how many of the electors of Ireland would be disfranchised, if the amendment of his noble friend were adopted.

"In Fermoy the number of 10*l.* electors, whose rents were ascertained, were 174. Of these there would be excluded, by a test requiring any excess of rating above rent, 118. By a test requiring 3*l.* excess there would be excluded 132; by a test requiring 5*l.* excess there would be excluded 140; by a test requiring 10*l.* excess there would be excluded the whole, except 15. Now, with respect to the character and station of those who would be so excluded, the 118 who would be excluded by a test requiring any excess of rating above rent, pay rents as follows:—There are two who each pay rents exceeding 200*l.*; 14 who each pay rents between 100*l.* and 200*l.*; 37 who each pay rents between 50*l.* and 100*l.*; 10 who pay rents between 30*l.* and 50*l.*; 23 who pay rents between 30*l.* and 40*l.*; 25 who pay rents between 20*l.* and 30*l.*; five who pay rents between 10*l.* and 20*l.*; and two who pay rents between 5*l.* and 10*l.*

The noble lord went through similar returns for Bandon, Listowel, Cashel, Tipperary, Armagh, and Cootehill, from which it appeared that the diminution of voters under the operation of Lord Howick's amendment, would amount to 728 in these half dozen constituencies alone.

He thought that these facts would be sufficient to demonstrate to the committee, that the scheme of his noble friend, the member for Northumberland, when the sum was adopted which he proposed to move in his next amendment, was utterly untenable and inapplicable to the state of things in Ireland. The adoption of the test which his noble friend proposed would almost entirely disfranchise the present occupying con-



stituency of Ireland. [Hear, hear.] This was a result which might be a very proper one if considered on any fanciful abstract theory as to what an independent constituency ought to be composed of; but what he did mean to say of the scheme of his noble friend was, that if it were adopted, they would not be able to maintain and keep up in Ireland any constituency sufficient to carry out the notion and principle of a popular representative government. [Hear, hear.] He had thus stated the objections which he entertained to the views of his noble friend; as the details of the measure proposed by her Majesty's government came on for consideration, he should be prepared to defend them. At present he would only say that he thought there were no means so likely to correct and prevent the abuses and malpractices at present complained of in election matters in Ireland as the adoption of some simple and fair test of rating, such as that which her Majesty's government proposed in the present measure, and which, until he heard some better scheme proposed, he should not be willing to abandon. [Cheers.]

Mr. C. Wood contended that Lord Howick's amendment would in effect be not a substitute for but an addition to the class of voters proposed by government. He dwelt on the rapid decrease in the number of leases granted in Ireland, as a serious objection to Lord Morpeth's lease-holding constituency, and asserted much to the amusement of the house, the independency of tenants at will.

He believed that very great exaggeration prevailed as to the opinions of the tenants being influenced in this country, so far as to induce them to vote against their wills. He did not believe that coercion had been exercised over the tenants. He did not believe, if the attempt had been made, that the tenants would submit to it [loud cries of "hear, hear," from the opposition]. And he must say, one reason which induced him to come to that opinion was the persuasion that the views of the tenantry did not materially differ from those of the landlords. On those questions which were the subjects of greatest interest in the county elections, such as the corn-laws and the church-rates, there was little difference between the majority of the landlords and the majority of the tenantry [hear, hear, from the opposition].

Lord STANLEY would support the amendment which affirmed a great principle to which he was attached, and which the government sought to destroy.

The proposition of the Government—their last proposition, made at the last moment—brought forward two months after the introduction of their bill, and upon evidence obtained, not for the purpose of framing the bill, but for the purpose of bolstering it up [hear, hear]—the proposition of the Government was to establish, as the franchise for Ireland, the being rated to the relief of the poor to the amount of £ , without reference to the amount of the tenant's beneficial interest—without reference to the fact whether he was a person having a beneficial interest—whether he was a solvent tenant and possessed of any property whatever [hear, hear]. That was the principle for which the Government contended [hear, hear]. In opposition to that principle, the noble member for Northumberland had come forward and said, "I propose to define the existing franchise in Ireland—to define it, certainly, with some modifications and limitations; but I will take rating as a test, and, taking rating as a test, I propose that a certain amount of rating (not simply *per se*, but a certain amount over and above the rent) shall be deemed and taken to be, not a new qualification, but the legal and correct interpretation of that for which I contend, in common with honourable members on the other side of the House, namely, the beneficial interest on excess of value over the burdens upon the holding." That was precisely in accordance with the principle of the Reform Act, which he (Lord Stanley) wished to maintain, but which the Government desired to abolish [hear, hear].

Detail might be considered when the second clause was discussed. He professed his desire that the constituency might not dwindle down to a small number. He never expected nor intended to increase the county constituency in Ireland greatly by the Reform Bill, but that of cities and boroughs.

When he was satisfied that there was danger—imminent danger of an alarming deficiency arising in the constituency of Ireland—a deficiency arising, not from the property qualification, but from particular circumstances connected with property—then he (Lord Stanley) might be ready with his noble friend (Viscount Howick) to consider the proper remedy for the evil—for an evil he should conceive it to be; but that remedy he should not seek in the proposition of the government. [Hear, hear.] As at present advised, he could not assent to the necessity of there being any augmentation or alteration of the existing constituency of Ireland. Nor, if he did assent to that necessity, could he say that he thought his noble friend had in his hand (and he was almost inclined to think that his noble friend would agree with him upon that point) the means and materials for carrying out the plan which he proposed.

Lord John RUSSELL reviewed the position in which parties stood in reference to the Irish Registration Bill. All had agreed that the franchise should be defined. The bill of Lord Morpeth did define it, he thought safely and satisfactorily. Only the immense importance of the question and of its immediate settlement, had induced him to subject himself to the taunt of departing from what had been originally proposed. He did not regret having taken this step towards conciliation, even although it should fail. Lord John continued

I think it was our duty to subject ourselves to any sarcasms of this kind, in order, if possible, to retrieve the unfortunate error made by a great party in that house. [Hear, hear.] It was my opinion, and still is, that Ireland, having suffered much, having suffered wrongs which I will not attempt to describe (they were described in language stronger, perhaps, than I should use, in a recent debate by an honourable member for Newark)—it was, I say, and still is my opinion, that Ireland having so suffered, if you could possibly arrive at a period in which you should have no question before parliament which should put in a conflict the passions of different parties in Ireland—if you could possibly arrive at such an interval of tranquillity as should enable men who were intent upon the pursuits of industry—who were intent upon the improvement of agriculture—who were intent upon the extension of commerce, to give their attention to those subjects, and to divert them for some few years from political contests, you would obtain a great benefit for that country and for the nation at large. [Cheers.] But it appeared to a great party in the house that this was not the course to be taken. [Hear, hear.] It appeared to them better to raise questions which gave to them a party majority and a party triumph in the course of the last session, [cheers] and every one of which excited more and more the anger, the indignation, the feeling of wrong done to them among the people of Ireland. [Loud cheers from the ministerial side.]

Lord John went on to say that the very reason that induced Lord Stanley to vote for the amendment, determined him to vote against it. It was not a verbal amendment, it affirmed a principle, and one that would disfranchise a large number of voters. He referred to the statistics read by Lord Morpeth, and asked in what light the amendment could be considered but as destruction of the franchise.

Neither can I derive any consolation from the assurance of the noble lord, [Lord Stanley,] opposite, that when the franchise shall have been destroyed, he will then introduce some bill to restore it [loud cheers from the ministerial side of the house.] When you have changed the representation of Ireland—when you have a representation of the people, in which the people have no voice—when you have a mere nominal representation of the people—when, according to the noble lord's description, some three or four chief proprietors will name the representatives for the different counties—when the people of Ireland are thus nominally represented, of what use will it be for the noble lord to say, "I now see that the franchise must be changed [cheers.]" It seems to me that if you do mean to keep up the franchise in Ireland—if you do mean to let the people have a real representation, the present is the time at which it ought to be done [cheers.] If, on the contrary, it is your determination, and the determination of this house, that the people of Ireland are not to be represented in parliament, then I think it would be better to take some clear and direct way of excluding them from the franchise [hear, hear.] I think it would be better that you should declare in plain and direct terms that the people of Ireland are not fit to be entrusted with the rights of representation [cheers.]—that you, the Parliament of the United Kingdom, boldly take your stand upon that ground, and that you mean to abide by that declaration [cheers.] After all, I have heard to-night, I can only gather, that it is intended to proceed in that indirect and tortuous way of disfranchising the people of Ireland which

I saw attempted in the last year [loud cheers,]—a way that will not be the less effectual because it is indirect, but which I shall certainly never cease to denounce and oppose [renewed cheering;] and I trust that the people of Ireland will believe that, if these attempts should unhappily make any progress, it is not that the people of England wish them to be treated with this injustice and this wrong, but that on the contrary, the people of England wish to see them honestly and fairly represented [great cheering from both sides of the house], and not defrauded of their rights by withdrawing from them those privileges which even when you took away the right of voting from the 40s. freeholders, you granted, in a manner that showed considerable generosity, and a great sense of the value of the privilege of voting for members of parliament. [Cheers.] Do not imagine that you can without remark, without exciting great indignation, withdraw the privilege which in 1829 you granted to the people of Ireland. My belief is that by acceding to the bill of my noble friend (Viscount Morpeth), and by adopting the franchise which he has proposed, you will act in the spirit of the bill of 1829, and of the bill of reform of 1832; and that if, on the contrary, you take an opposite course, it will not be long before you will wish that you had not interfered to excite a spirit in the people of Ireland which will justify them — [the remainder of the sentence was lost in the cheers of the house, which continued for several minutes.]

Sir ROBERT PEEL observed that the noble lord had upon that occasion pursued the course which he almost uniformly adopted when he had some very defective case to support—he had tried to divert the attention of the house from the subject properly under its consideration, [cheers,] and by some general declamation about popular rights, [renewed cheering from the opposition,] or some charge against his political opponents, to raise a cheer on the part of those who sat behind him, [laughter and cheers,] under cover of which he himself retired from the discussion, and fancied that he had been triumphant. [Great laughter and cheering.] He contended that the constituency had not been greatly diminished from what it had been immediately after the passing of the Reform act; but supposing that to be proved, the remedy proposed was inefficient. When leases are fast diminishing, a lease is made indispensable, and in providing for an increased constituency, the present constituency is wholly subverted.

He gave the preference to the proposal of the noble lord (the member for Northumberland), but he would not, in voting for it, consider himself pledged to the details, because he was not altogether certain of the effects involved in the amendment. He apprehended that the vote on the question before the House would be decisive of the fate of the bill. If they resolved on establishing the test of the beneficial interest, they would in that case be affirming a principle directly at variance with that contained in the present bill. [Hear, hear.] He was glad that they would have an opportunity of taking the sense of the House on this point—he was glad that the noble lord did not consider it a mere verbal amendment—that he viewed it as a great question of principle; and he was glad that the sense of the House was to be taken on the point, whether or no the beneficial interest or profit from the land was to be the test and qualification of the county franchise. He entreated hon. gentlemen carefully to consider what would be the effect on the constituency of England—on the franchise in England, if they consented to establish the new fact of occupancy as the qualification for county franchise in Ireland—if the same parties who now returned members for the cities and boroughs should also return members for the counties. [Hear.]

After a few words from Mr. O'Connell, Lord Howick, Sir R. Peel, and Lord J. Russell in explanation, the house divided.

|                               |     |
|-------------------------------|-----|
| For the amendment .....       | 291 |
| Against it .....              | 270 |
| Majority for the amendment .. | 21  |

#### HOUSE OF LORDS.

No debate took place in the House of Lords on Thursday. The Earl of CHARLEVILLE adverted to some observations made by the Marquis of NORMANBY in reply to his own statements made in the House before the Easter recess, upon the circumstances attending the murder of Mr. Powell. The Marquis of NORMANBY intimated that if he had had notice of the earl's intention, he would have brought with him the letters of Mr. Moore (the solicitor-general) and Mr. Dales (crown solicitor), upon the authority of which he rested his former observations; but not having them with him, he should not repeat the statements on his own responsibility—an answer which the Earl of WICKLOW considered most unsatisfactory.

Nothing of the slightest importance was done on Friday evening. A few petitions were presented, and some conversation passed between Lords Normanby, Salisbury, Lyndhurst, and Ripon, relative to the Drainage bill, the propriety of extending its operations to Scotland, and of exempting from it Birmingham and Bolton. The report was received *pro forma*, and the clauses moved and ordered to be printed. Further consideration of report on Tuesday next.

On Monday nothing of importance took place.

#### POSTSCRIPT.

A Cabinet Council was held yesterday, at which all the ministers attended. We did not make any remark in our weekly summary on Monday night's debate, deeming it probable that we should be able to state something definite respecting the intentions of ministers this morning, but nothing is yet known.

In the House of Lords nothing of importance took place last evening.

In the House of Commons:—

Mr. EASTHOPE gave notice, that on the 11th of May he would move for leave to bring in a bill for the abolition of Church-rates.

Mr. FRESHFIELD moved for a select committee "to inquire into the comparative advantages afforded by different Channel ports, as points of departure for the West India mails."

Sir C. LEMAN seconded the motion. On a division it was carried by a majority of 54 against 50.

The SOLICITOR-GENERAL moved for a committee to consider the expediency of erecting a building in the neighbourhood of the inns of court, for the sittings of the courts of law and equity.

The motion was seconded by Sir Eardley Wilmot, supported by Mr. Hume, and agreed to without a division.

Several petitions against church-rates were presented, and one from the ministers of the Independent denomination of the county of Stafford, adopted at a meeting held at Newcastle-under-Lyne praying for the liberation of Mr. Baines.



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**The Nonconformist.**

LONDON: WEDNESDAY, APRIL 28, 1841.

## UP-HEAVINGS AGAINST ARISTOCRATIC LEGISLATION.

To whatever point of the social and political machine we give attention, we see the indications of the rapid advance to a new organization in Great Britain.

Amongst other signs are, the effects which are being rapidly worked by the efforts of the middle classes, associated in the anti-corn, and food-law movement, against those peculiarly obnoxious items of selfish legislation, and those of the Chartists who seek the overthrow of the aristocratic, and the establishment of the democratic principle. In the much lauded compound of our "mixed" and "balanced" constitution, the working classes, and we believe the mass of the middle classes, are of opinion that the democratic principle has not yet been infused, that the compound has been falsely labelled, and that the balance has been all on one side.

The two estates, the monarchy and the aristocracy ruled in the earlier ages, by force; in the after ages, they have managed to delude the country into a belief that it had a representation, and whilst that delusion was practised by both against the people, the aristocracy managed to denude the Crown of its lands and influence; to pension it upon the State, to vote a large income from the pockets of the people nominally to the wearer of the Crown, but really to be divided among themselves.

They have thus made the office a mere peg upon which to hang their cloaks, whilst they divide the gains; for patronage defined as they practise it, is nothing but *the division of taxes amongst the aristocracy, their sons, and relations*, in the church, the army, the navy, the marines, the ordnance, the law, the colonies, our Indian possessions, and the various government and fiscal offices in England. For these purposes are taxes imposed by them. We all know who gets the lion's share, and the corrupting and fraudulent means by which they secure it, are shown before their parliamentary committee. All the beneficial agencies of society, such as roads, bridges, canals, railways, the maintenance of the poor and the criminals, are supplied by society in addition; *all that the people have from government for the taxes, being a most clumsy, confused system of law-making, yielding a jumble of enactments, consistent in no one thing except that spirit of selfishness against which the knowledge of the people is struggling upwards.*

We were led into the consideration of the many aspects which the separate up-heavings of the masses are presenting, and to the advance of the democratic principle, which must result, by the following paragraph from the Corn-law Circular:—

"Aristocratical emigration is at this present time going on rapidly. The letters of credit granted to English continental travellers by the two principal banking houses at the west end of London, exceed this year, both in number and value, by more than half those of any preceding year, as far as the number of months have gone by.—*Newspaper paragraph.* [Thus do our aristocracy go to unbread-taxed climes. They compel the working classes, who must eat their food at home, to buy it taxed; while they themselves periodically escape the impost by quitting the country. If they go to cheap food, why will they not allow cheap food to come to the people?]"—*Gateshead Observer.*

Here the practical working of their selfish legislation is placed in a strong light, though upon a small scale. If selfishness were reflective, the aristocracy could only hope to reap bitter fruit from such sowing; bitterness is the result, and that bitterness, in the shape of aversion, is becoming intense in proportion as it becomes enlightened.

Every move since the "glorious" revolution of 1688 has, though not intended by its leaders, advanced, and is advancing, the moral power and influence of the people. A higher cause than the so called revolution was the invention of the art of printing, and the translation and diffusion of the Scriptures, and their influence in leavening the social advances. It is impossible that men should study the New Testament, and not be enlarged in their affections, and softened in their dispositions. It teaches them, and strengthens them to win virtuous ends by virtuous means, by patient continuance in well doing, by peaceable deeds as well as words. The establishment of rational liberty founded on justice to all, if the principles of the New Testament, and the examples it supplies, are taken as our guide, is not a question of doubt, but of time only.

The movements and arguments of the league against the corn-laws, are equally applicable against every other tax, except a property and income tax. They are laying bare the principles of taxation, and illustrating and forcing them into the minds of the most obtuse. They are showing that there is not any honest taxation but that which is direct, that indirect taxation is waste or cheatery; and the excise and customs, and all indirect taxation is by the recent report on import duties put out of argumentative existence. The middle classes have emancipated themselves from

the vice of drunkenness, which was a table vice fifty years ago, so completely, that a man guilty of it, is quickly banished; and the operatives now denounce it, and are the public advocates of temperance. Knowledge not only is spreading, but men are applying it, and the twaddle of the aristocracy in parliament on subjects of political economy, is leading the people to pity their ignorance, or suspect their motives.

Men are looking back upon the past doings of society. They see that the aristocracy have uniformly cultivated the arts of destruction, and that from the people have sprung commerce and the arts of production.

They look with pride upon such men as Gutenberg, Caxton, Gresham, Watt, Arkwright, and Fulton, and they feel in 800 millions of aristocratic debt, to the payment of which their thews and sinews have been mortgaged even before they were born; and in the game-laws, corn-laws, the wilful trespass-laws, and the tread-wheel rupturing laws, that the justice and benevolence of the aristocracy may be traced; that in the invention of gunpowder and the blessings of auto-da-fes, and the torture, the doings and humanity of the priests may be recognised; and that, excepting the gunpowder, the whole of these, and much more, are the result of class legislation, the GREAT MONSTER MONOPOLY—the ever-teeming source of religious, social, moral, and political evil.

Whilst the middle classes are, with their influence, their money, and their lecturers, denouncing the corn-laws, and are opening up the philosophy and wisdom of direct taxation, the great body of operatives are pushing home the necessity of an ORGANIC remedy, and the folly of palliatives.

By the time the infatuated aristocracy are convinced they must yield the corn-laws, the people will have arrived at the determination that, that alone wont do, that they must have the cause removed, the absence of the democratic principle in our institutions.

The corn-law league having complained of the opposition of the clergy, the *Morning Chronicle* remarks:—

"Surely the least that we are entitled to expect from a clergyman is, that he should not openly fly in the face of the plainest dictates of religion and morality from motives of personal interest. The clergy ought never to be seen in the ranks of the oppressors of the people. If they have not courage to convey the message of their master to the rich and powerful of the earth, they ought not to abet them in spoiling the poor. Every one who can read his Bible must see that conduct like this is utterly at variance with the lessons of our SAVIOUR."

Now the league and our contemporary appear to us, in expressing surprise at this, to forget that the clergy are merely the nominees of the aristocracy; that they have the fee simple of the tithes, and the clergy are merely the stewards, life tenants, bred up aristocratically and servilely; and that the majority would not be in good livings, if they had not shown themselves sufficiently endowed with reverence for their masters, the patrons of the benefices. Upon the whole, if there is not unity of effort amongst the various classes, there is from their several efforts, the same effect working against the ill-conditioned edifice; and, little as they seem to heed it, the affairs of the aristocracy tend downwards.

## HOW TO GOVERN "THE MASSES."

THE poor of any nation—the toiling, hard-fed, unrepresented poor—the bulk of a country's inhabitants—the bone and sinew of a country's strength—tell us their condition, and we will pronounce at once upon the claim of any government to be regarded as a liberal one. "The masses," they are called! In this guise, we have come of late, to speak of the busy myriads—to think of them as given quantities of physical power—conveniently to hide from ourselves the fact, that these "masses" are just so many thousand families, each of which has its wants clamorous as our own—its anxieties consuming like ours—its sensibilities that may be wounded—its affections that may be blasted and left desolate. Too sure an indication that poor men are looked upon by our legislators as things—without sense, without feeling, without rights.

Aye! 'tis a brave thing for land-owning senators to rise up from tables burdened with the luxuries of every clime, and saunter forth from their halls of splendour, to vote new taxes, and pass stringent laws for the government of "the masses." A short way and a vigorous one, of dealing with famished millions, is that in fashion at St. Stephens. Drive them from every common in the kingdom by enclosure acts—have they not the roads? Worry them with game laws—are the sports of gentlemen to be abandoned? Wring from them half their scanty wages by taxes upon their articles of food and clothing—hem them about on all sides by restrictions that they may carry their labour and their skill to the lowest markets—prevent them from buying bread at any but the dearest. When, by such means, they are deprived of all power to stave off want, break up their homes—shut them up in workhouses—separate husband and wife, children and parents—set over them low-bred, domineering masters—pay chaplains to preach christian patience to them—and, if nature rebels, off with them to black-holes, and starve them into submission. This is the approved method of governing "the masses!"

If there be justice in heaven, as assuredly there is, although heartless rulers may forget it; if there be a God above us whose prerogative it is to right the oppressed, and judge those who "grind the faces of the poor," these things cannot last. The abettors of this fearful tyranny—whig, tory, or radical—aristocratic, mercantile, or trading—may hope in vain to escape retribution. The storm is brewing. Thickening lurid clouds skirt the horizon. Commerce declines. Trade cannot regain its wonted elasticity. Sources of prosperity are one after another drying up to appear in other lands. All things betoken the slow but certain approach of a universal crash.



But this new poor-law—have not all parties spoken well of it? Do not all agree—all, who have not sinister designs to answer, that it works well? Yes! all but “the masses”—considerably above one half of the nation. Were the lion the painter, a strangely different picture would be drawn. What then! Are the poor “to eat up,” in the language of Lord Brougham, “their lordship’s estates?” Little need, we think, to ask that question, would their lordships forbear to prey upon the estates of the poor. Must not idleness be discouraged, must not real poverty be discriminated by a searching test? What else is proposed,—what other object is answered by this all-applauded bill? We answer with another query. Is it not a right principle that all men should provide honestly for their own? Well in, now, some dozen men, and coop them up within a paddock, a few yards square. Tell them to get their living by their labour—preach to them that our mother earth is bountiful, at the same moment that you take from them their best tools. Bid them give you half their produce, and does not the principle which is intrinsically good, become totally inapplicable?—a practical tyrannizing falsehood? It makes all the difference, whether contentment be urged as a duty, before or after dinner.

There is another mode of governing “masses,” not so much in vogue ’tis true, but one which the sooner our legislators adopt, the better for all parties. The soul of it is, that men have rights, as well as property. Land-owners and fund-holders little dream of this. The heavy burdens, their own despotic tendencies created, they have mainly cast upon the back of poverty. To swell their own enormous incomes, labour is forbidden to sell its fruits at this market, hunger to satisfy itself at that. Give back the poor their rights, rights rudely snatched from them at the point of the bayonet; lay upon them only their equitable proportion of taxation; give their industry “a fair stage and no favour;” suffer them to buy and sell as they list without state-intermeddling, and when this is done, praise the new poor-law, if you will, as a marvellous statesman-like measure. The poor will object to it no longer.

#### OFFICIAL ASSIGNEES.

THE question as to forcing official assignees on creditors in bankruptcy cases, whether they wish for them or not, has lost none of its interest in the city. We showed in our last article on this subject, that, in the opinion of their own officers, the improved characteristics of the new court were the commissioners and the official assignees; that the registrars were drones; the ushers unnecessary; and the drones, according to Mr. P. Johnson, one of the bees, eat up the honey. Subsequent events have shown that bees love honey as well as drones.

No report has been issued by the committee appointed to enquire into the defalcations of the two late official assignees; and Mr. Commissioner Williams, has not, as yet, declared what is the ascertained extent of Mr. Clarke’s defalcation, and how much his sureties are likely to pay, nor whether those sureties are likely to pay anything; nor has Mr. Vizard, the secretary of bankrupts, enlightened the public on this subject. We suppose, that, like most official bonds, they will turn out to be most officially prepared, and that they will be abundantly unproductive. Doubtless, the accountant-general, or Mr. Sergeant Laws the chief registrar, who has the best berth in the ship, if a good salary with little to do constitutes a good place, will ere long declare these things.

Let us look to the origin of these official assignees. When a sufficient noise and smoke had been raised against creditors’ assignees under commissions; the whole of which noise and smoke against them arose out of the defective system, and still more negligent execution by the then existing commissioners of their duties; but when this noise and smoke had raised a sufficient colour for pensioning off the most negligent set of judges that ever existed, and for appointing a host of new officers, amongst others, official assignees were appointed, and to them was confided the custody of the bankrupt’s estate; and as no reformation by lawyers merely, ever adequately contemplated the situation of the suitor, the creditors’ assignees were deprived of all power, but were, nevertheless, still continued responsible for all consequences. In addition to losing a considerable debt—for the creditors’ assignees are mostly chosen from amongst the largest creditors—they, the creditor’s assignees, were continued, associated, by the new law, with official assignees, to answer for the validity of the fiat, of which they knew nothing; and to stand as targets to be shot at, if that fiat should prove to be defective.

Here was an injustice to both parties; for the official assignees being mere ministers, ought not to be subjected to any responsibility, or answerable for anything flowing from the rightful discharge of their duties, as agents for the realization of the estate; but the moment all authority and confidence was taken from the creditor’s assignees, it became an aggravation of the previously existing injustice towards them that they should be responsible for the legality of a fiat, their acting under which had become matter of obligation when appointed assignees. The law left, and still leaves, the sufficiency of the fiat wholly in doubt, for the adjudication of a competent judge of the Bankrupt Court, was not, and is not now, allowed to be protective to either creditors, or official assignees, though, surely, if responsibility is cast upon either, it should be upon the paid agent, and not upon the unpaid sufferer. It is not just to cast it upon either. They know nothing about the sufficiency of the debt of the petitioning creditor, or of the act of bankruptcy, and are innocent parties placed in a situation as trustees to realize the assets and work out the law.

When Lord Brougham imposed the official assignees upon the estate, it was not left, as in reason and justice it ought to have been, to the creditors to require the aid of an official assignee in such

trades, and in such cases, as they should think requisite, but they were compelled to have the services of those gentlemen, whether they needed them or not.

Commercial men and tradesmen, are, as a class, keen enough to judge of the services they want, and of the ability of those who tender those services. Surely then, if they were to have services imposed upon them, any accountant should have been at liberty to give the requisite security. Creditors would then have chosen the man in whom they themselves had confidence; whom they knew to be acquainted with their particular trade, and qualified by his especial knowledge of that trade, to give them the aid they needed. If they required him as an accountant they could have had him as such, but, if they needed only the protection and realization of the stock, they would then have employed him for that purpose only. They would have had just so much of his services as they needed, and no more; and, like wise men, would have paid him for what they had, and that only. Now they pay for services which they do not need; and, in every case, are obliged to have, at least, to pay upon the assumption that they have had the same quantity of services. Their cases are now taken “all at,” with this addition of something worse; that the good estates pay for working the bad ones. If the law will not presume the creditors to have so much sense as was necessary to choose their own servants, and insisted upon their having fifteen good men, surely the wisdom of our lawgiver would have permitted them a selection from the “chosen few,” as they were protected from choosing a bad one, they might have been allowed to choose the best of the good. Not so; the arrangements were left by Lord Brougham to mere lawyers, and the Court of Review, composed of barristers, who, generally speaking, are men bred at a public school, go from thence to college, then to the Temple and to the bar; are without intercourse with commercial men or tradesmen, and with very slight knowledge of their character and commercial wants; and the Court of Review issued an order that the official assignees should be divided amongst the commissioners, and that the commissioners and official assignees should act in rotation; the dull or stupid man therefore had, and now has, as good a chance of good business with the clear headed and zealous. They become, therefore, monopolists, and like all monopolists, they require the world to bend to them, and to cut down the measure of their wants to the official inclination to supply them.

The law and the lawyers determined that the creditors should not choose their own servants, and the consequence was, that the official assignees required the creditor’s assignees to wait upon them at their offices, the bankrupt to take up his residence there for the purpose of making out his accounts; and, notwithstanding what has been stated, it is perfectly true that when he gets there, it is managed to be conveyed to him, that one particular person is a desirable person to be employed by him to make out his balance sheet.

Now all men of business know the perfect absurdity of requiring men to quit their own business to examine accounts containing the results of a lengthened trading, and make up their minds upon the subject at an hour or two’s notice. In the olden times the accountant waited upon the creditor’s assignees. The accountants then were dependent upon the creditor’s assignees for their employment, and they desired to satisfy the assignees, for their duty and their interest ran together, and their future employment depended upon their present zeal and sufficiency. Not so the official assignee, he is in the anomalous situation of a servant independent of his master, whose employment is sure, and who is under no immediate and direct necessity of pleasing those whose interests he has in charge. True it is, that he must not be grossly negligent so as to enable creditors to make out a strong case against him, but the responsibility is remote and indirect, and the difference between the cold services of the one, and the zeal of the other, is as the difference between the frigid and the torrid zones.

So however, the thing works, and audit and dividend meetings take place in due time, of which more at a future day.

#### SUMMARY.

No news, we regret to say, have hitherto reached town of the President. The Shanandoah, Captain West, which arrived at Liverpool on Monday, brought New York papers to the 3rd instant, and sailed from the Cape on the 6th. Not the slightest intelligence has been brought by her relating to the missing steam packet. A Baltimore paper of the 1st instant, announcing the arrival at that port of the brig Coquette, from Bermuda, makes no mention whatever of the President.

Parliament met on Tuesday the 20th, as reported in our last. On Wednesday the House of Commons counted out. On Thursday there was a debate on the motion of Mr. Grote, to take into consideration the propriety of saddling upon this country, half the expense incurred by the police and gaol establishment of New South Wales. The discussion was not destitute of interest, and was rendered remarkable by the extreme anxiety displayed by Lord John Russell and Sir. R. Peel to put a check upon our expenditure, and spare the public purse. Both were sufficiently recovered by the next evening, to vote the institution of two additional Courts of Chancery, having each a new judge with 5000*l.* per annum each.

Anti-church-rate petitions are presented in considerable numbers every night, but they are certainly not half so numerous as the occasion would seem to demand. The truth is, men of all parties, excepting mere tools, are sick of petitioning.

The Nottingham election has been decided in favour of Mr. Walter. The state of the poll at its close was,

For Mr. Walter ..... 2018

For Mr. Larpent ..... 1722

No foreign news of importance has reached us this week.



## GENERAL POLITICS.

## FOREIGN.

FRANCE.—The Paris journals of Friday and Saturday have been received.

The Chamber of Deputies adopted on Thursday the entire of the Recruiting Bill, with the exception of a single article, which was sent back to the committee, in order that some verbal changes might be made in its text. The principal alterations introduced by the bill into the former law are confined to the duration of the military service, which is extended from seven years to eight, and to the mode of calling out the yearly contingent of recruits. Hitherto only 40,000 were levied, and the remaining 40,000 were left in their families, liable during seven years to be called into active service by a royal ordinance. In virtue of the new law the whole of the 80,000 men are to be drawn; but, instead of serving seven years, they will be allowed to return to their homes, on furloughs, at the expiration of four years, there to continue at the disposition of the Minister of War during the four other years, and to constitute the reserve of the army.

The sitting of the Chamber of Deputies on Friday was almost exclusively taken up with ballots. The Assembly adopted the Recruiting Bill, by a majority of 212 against 46, and voted an additional credit of 5,587,000*f.* for the marine department, by 217 against 13; and another of 2,500,000*f.* to be applied to purchase horses for the cavalry, by 207 against 25. In the course of the sitting, M. Lacave Laplagne deposited on the table his report on the expenditure of the budget of 1842; and M. Rivet, the other reporter, was expected to submit to the Chamber the result of his examination of the receipts in the beginning of this week. The *Journal des Debats* was of opinion that the discussion on the budget would terminate in the first fortnight of May, in which case the session would be closed about the 20th.

M. Humann, the Minister of Finance, in presenting on Thursday the bill relative to the extraordinary credits for 1841 to the Chamber of Peers, proceeded to draw a gloomy picture of the financial situation of the country. He stated that the deficit in 1840 would amount to 170,231,680*f.*; that of 1841, to 242,603,288*f.*; and in 1842 to 154,752,792*f.*, making in all 567,589,760*f.* to cover which there were only 135,380,614*f.*, viz., the *boni* of 1839, fixed at 14,517,591*f.*, the savings on the extraordinary public works in 1840, and the proceeds of the sinking fund, disposable, on the 1st of January 1841, and amounting to 104,863,023*f.*; so that there existed no provision whatsoever to meet a sum of 432,209,146*f.*

The King and Queen of the Belgians arrived in Paris on Friday, and took up their residence at the Palais Royal. King Leopold would, it was thought, return to Brussels on the 3d of May, but the Queen was to stop with her family some time longer.

The Prince de Joinville reached Cherbourg on the 23d inst.

Queen Christina entered France from Savoy on the 18th, by Pont-de-Beauvoisin, slept at Bourgoin on the following night, and reached Lyons on Tuesday evening. Her Majesty alighted at the Hotel de l'Europe, where apartments had been prepared for her reception. Her suite consisted of a number of servants, a lady of the bedchamber, and a secretary. Her Majesty purposed stopping four days in Lyons.

The editor of the *France* was tried before the Paris Court of Assizes on Saturday for publishing the correspondence attributed to King Louis Philippe. He was defended by M. Berryer, and acquitted to the great joy of a crowded court.

SPAIN.—On Thursday, April 15, the Senate moved in the affair of the Regency, and approved a report defining in two clauses the mode of proceeding in the election. The first few paragraphs contain all that is essential in this document. The following were the articles proposed to the House:—

- "Art. I. The Cortes shall meet to settle the Regency question on the day that government shall decide.
- "2. Each Chamber may deliberate singly, but not vote.
- "3. The Deputies and Senators united shall then vote, first, on the number of Members the Regency shall contain; secondly, on the persons of whom it shall be composed.
- "4. The vote shall be by ballot.
- "5. For the first vote each deputy or senator shall write in his bulletin one, three, or five.
- "6. Should there be no absolute majority the first time, a second ballot shall take place between the opinions having most votes.
- "7. Should the result be the same, chance shall decide.
- "8. The same method shall be followed for the election of the Regent or Regents.
- "9. No discussions shall take place even on questions of order. The Constitution prohibiting the two Chambers to deliberate together."

These articles were immediately adopted, with the exception of Art. 9, which gave rise to a discussion, M. Campazano advising its suppression, and to have inserted in its stead that all questions should be settled by a majority of votes. This was vehemently opposed by General Seoane, who said that the constitution positively prohibited deliberation when the two chambers were together, and that no violation of the fundamental law should be allowed. The gallant general asserted that there were men who wished to create anarchy, in order to seize on the property of honest and peaceable citizens; but he would let them know that, when he commanded, such criminal projects should meet with no success, and added, that 400 daggers, sent from Genoa, most probably with a revolutionary design, had lately been seized on their arrival and transmitted to the tribunal of Valencia, which is charged with the investigation.

After this vigorous sortie, Art. 9 was carried.

In the Chamber of Deputies M. Collantes and other deputies called on the Ministry to communicate the budget for the year 1842 as soon as it could possibly be got ready. The Minister of Finance, in reply, stated that the request of the honourable members was quite useless, as government was desirous that the budget should be laid before the House with all possible despatch, adding at the same time that government was desirous that the interest of the debt should be paid in order to re-establish the credit of the country.

TURKEY.—The official Vienna paper, the *Austrian Observer* of April 10th, announced a change of Ministry at Constantinople—

"Advices from Constantinople of the 29th ultimo, received by ex-

press, state that Reschid Pasha has been dismissed from his post as Minister of Foreign Affairs, and replaced by Rifaat Bey, formerly Ambassador from the Porte at the Court of Vienna; who has been also made a pasha. The Minister of Commerce, Fethi Achmet Pasha, has been replaced by the Capitan Pasha, Said Pasha, who is brother-in-law to the Sultan; and Tahir Pasha has been appointed Capitan Pasha in his stead."

Tahir Pasha and Said Pasha were both removed by the late Sultan for incompetence. They belonged to an old, retrograde policy; but they are opposed to the present obstructive policy of further attempting to coerce Mehemet Ali. Their appointment therefore, is thought to facilitate the settlement of the Egyptian question.

A letter in the *Allgemeine Zeitung* declares that the fickleness of Reschid Pasha's character had produced all the late difficulties. The charges brought against him, however, that he had aped European manners, had threatened the Mussulman institution of marriage, had given places in the army and navy to foreigners, and had concocted the famous hatt-i-scheriff of Gulhane, prove the animus against him by the conservatives of the East. Advices direct of the 31st confirm the accounts of mixed good and bad in this change of Ministry.

Lord Ponsonby was expected to quit Constantinople, on "leave of absence." The First Secretary of Legation was to be charged, after his lordship's departure, with the affairs of the Embassy.

GERMANY.—It is a well known fact that Brunswick has had for some time past the intention of retiring from its commercial league with Hanover, and entering into the great Prussian commercial league, and that it was with this intent that M. de Amsberg was despatched to Berlin. It is now, however, generally believed here that the difference between this country and Brunswick will be again adjusted, and that the result will be a prolongation of the present commercial treaty. M. de Amsberg, it is said, has returned to Brunswick without having met with any very favourable disposition in Berlin towards his proposals of a concurrence of Brunswick in the great commercial league.

POLAND.—Letters from Warsaw speak of orders given to the Russian troops in Poland (whose number is no longer denied), to fall back upon the Russian frontier, and a camp will, it is said, be formed in the course of the year upon the Dnieper, after which the Emperor will visit Germany. The poor Jews, in addition to all they have to bear, are now to be visited with the patriarchal cares of the Russian minister of public instruction. An ukase ordains the regulation of the Jewish schools, and reserves the nomination of teachers, as in the Christian institutions for education, to the Crown. This was to be expected; for the fears of the Jews that the extension of Russian influence in the East, would lead to their final expulsion, were long since known, and by the uncertain tenure of Poland these Hebrew allies were by no means contemptible foes, for they are in possession of the sinews of war, and in future insurrections could show themselves formidable.

## COLONIAL.

AFRICA.—Recent intelligence, not of the most favourable kind, from Natal, is given in the *Graham's Town Journal* of the 11th February—

"A plentiful harvest is expected, but the corn is more liable to rust than in the colony. The horse-sickness prevails very much in these parts, also distempers among cattle, &c. Indian corn seems to resist every disease, and it is expected that hundreds of muids will be harvested in the vicinity of the bay. \* \* \* Many of the Dutch are in great distress, owing to the death of their cattle from the prevalent diseases which rage in these parts. The Boers are also much alarmed at seeing in the newspapers lately received from the colony, that the British will take possession of the Natal country; they even talk of resisting the attempt. \* \* \* A stranger suffers great inconvenience here, there being no house to afford accommodation or lodging. There are only about twenty houses at Natal, and a few near the entrance of the bay, which were erected by the Seventy-second, which are now used by the emigrant farmers, and hired to others as stores in the shipping-line."

## DOMESTIC.

## METROPOLITAN.

HER MAJESTY'S DRAWING-ROOM.—Her Majesty held her first drawing-room for the season at St. James's Palace on Thursday. It was most numerous and brilliantly attended. Her Majesty, accompanied by Prince Albert, left Buckingham Palace about two o'clock, and was loudly cheered by those assembled in the park.

THE NEW HOUSES OF PARLIAMENT.—The following is a brief description of these stupendous edifices, which are now in rapid progress. The river wall is more than 30 feet in thickness, and forms an impenetrable barrier to the great body of water pressing upon it. Its height above the bed of the river is 15 feet, and it is calculated that a spring-tide will reach to within three feet of its summit. The northern wing, intended for the official residence of the Speaker of the House of Commons, is more advanced than any other portion of the works, and already conveys an idea of the gigantic and magnificent appearance the houses will present when finished. This part is now carried up to the transom of the first or principal floor windows, a height of 26 feet 9 inches from the basement floor. The terrace front, which will be occupied by the committee-rooms of both houses, the libraries, refreshment, and waiting rooms, is carried up to the first-floor windows. The terrace will be about 32 feet in breadth, with a parapet of about three feet high running along its super-verge. The southern wing, containing the apartments of the Usher of the Black Rod, the Librarian, the Housekeeper, and accommodation for the Lord Great Chamberlain on state occasions, has reached an altitude of about 20 feet. The Victoria tower, the chef d'œuvre of the whole, will be situate at the angle of the buildings next Abingdon-street: it will have a gateway that will be opened on great occasions, as when the Queen comes to open or prorogue parliament. The Houses of Lords and Commons will occupy a central position; that of the Lords will be 201 feet by 82 feet; the Commons 214 feet by 92 feet. The entire length of the whole buildings is 876 feet. The number of men employed is very nearly 500, of which 248 are masons and carvers.



A bill is introduced into the House of Lords, under the sanction of Government, to promote further improvements in the streets of the metropolis. The bill proposes to open a convenient thoroughfare from the end of Coventry-street, Piccadilly, to Newport-street and Long-acre; to continue the line of street from Waterloo-bridge, now completed to Bow-street, northward into Broad-street, Holborn, to extend to Oxford-street, in a direct line through St. Giles's, so as to communicate with Holborn at or near Southampton-street; and to open a spacious thoroughfare between Whitechapel and Spitalfields and the docks, wharfs, &c., of the river Thames, by widening the northern and southern ends of Leman-street, and by creating a new street from the northern side of Whitechapel to the front of Spitalfields Church.

In reply to a deputation from one of the Metropolitan Parishes on the subject of the Tax on Light; the Chancellor of the Exchequer stated that Government had no intention of repeating it. The amount collected as duty on windows in the twelve towns which contribute the largest amount is as follows:—Bath £18,856.; Birmingham, £7,905.; Brighton, £11,823.; Bristol, £12,346.; Cheltenham, £5,332.; Clifton, £5,377.; Liverpool, £22,551.; Leeds, £5,602.; Manchester, £12,983.; Norwich, £4,870.; Plymouth, £7,242.; and York, 4,503.

The following general order has issued in consequence of the Sunday flogging by Lord Cardigan.

"Horse Guards, 22nd April 1841.

"The attention of the General Commanding-in-Chief, has been called to the punishment of a soldier of the Eleventh Hussars, in the Riding-house at Hounslow, on Sunday the 11th April.

"It is well known that it is not the practice of this country to carry the penal sentences of the law into execution on the Lord's Day's neither is it the practice of the Army, whether employed abroad or at home.

"The General Commanding-in-Chief is therefore surprised that an officer in the situation of Lieutenant-Colonel commanding a regiment should have carried such a sentence into execution on Sunday.

"The General Commanding-in-Chief desires that it may be clearly understood, that the sentences of Military Courts are not to be carried into execution on the Lord's Day, excepting in cases of evident necessity, the nature of which it cannot be requisite for him to define.

"By command of the Right Honourable the General Commanding-in-Chief,

(Signed)

"JOHN MACDONALD, Adjutant-General."

**THE PENNY POSTAGE.**—The following selection from the Return just printed by the House of Commons will show the rate at which the correspondence of the country is increasing.

LONDON GENERAL POST.

|   | Number of Letters. |
|---|--------------------|
| Four weeks ending 30th March 1839 .....   | 1,604,356          |
| 28th March 1840 .....                     | 3,372,667          |
| 27th March 1841 .....                     | 5,060,127          |
| LONDON DISTRICT POST.                     |                    |
| Four weeks ending 29th January 1839 ..... | 1,067,358          |
| 1st February 1840 .....                   | 1,539,574          |
| 30th January 1841 .....                   | 1,835,610          |
| UNITED KINGDOM.                           |                    |
| Week ending 24th November 1839 .....      | 1,585,973          |
| 22d March 1840 .....                      | 3,069,496          |
| 21st March 1841 .....                     | 3,721,455          |

The *Sun* calculates that assuming each post-office to be open twelve hours per day, the number of letters posted in the United Kingdom is 750 every minute. The profit is 33 per cent on the gross revenue.

PROVINCIAL.

**DINNER TO COMMODORE SIR CHAS. NAPIER AT LIVERPOOL.**—A public dinner was given by the authorities and inhabitants of Liverpool, to Commodore Napier on Monday week, in testimony of their approbation of his conduct in connexion with the siege of St. Jean d'Acre. It took place in the Royal Amphitheatre, and was attended by 650 of the most influential persons, the boxes and galleries being filled with elegantly dressed ladies. The Mayor, Thos. Bolton, Esq. presided. On his health being drunk Commodore Napier returned thanks in a very animated speech, and entered upon the subject of the doings in Syria and Egypt.

Mehemet Ali, he said, did not understand how to manage Syria, and especially its Christian inhabitants; but no cruelties had been practised by the Egyptian Commander in the prosecution of his purpose. The insurrection, had the good effect of hastening the treaty of July. The treaty arrived on the 10th of September, and it was necessary to carry the thing through at once—for the greatest of all evils was an European war. They had double tides to work. He was placed in the position of both Admiral and General, and was obliged to act up to the best of his knowledge and ability; and he was happy to say that in the course of one short month they succeeded in driving a large force, amounting to about 100,000 men, from Syria, and in liberating the inhabitants of Lebanon. [Applause.] But the business was not then over. They had a very small force—there were about 10,000 Turkish men—whilst Mehemet Ali mustered between 50,000 and 60,000 troops. Shortly after the taking of Acre, he sent six sail of the line to Alexandria. The winter was then coming on; and he took on himself what was truly a great responsibility, for he was destitute of instructions or advice from the Government at home, or from his superior officer, and proposed to Mehemet Ali peace. After three or four days' discussion—not like the usual discussions in such cases—terms were settled, and in four days peace was made, and an agreement signed. He then thought that the war in Syria and Egypt was at an end. But when the treaty was sent to Constantinople, it was repudiated by the Porte; it was protested against by the English Minister, and upset by the authorities in Syria; denounced as hasty and unauthorized by the Commander-in-Chief, and abandoned without reflection; and all the business was obliged to be done over again from the beginning. But he hoped he might be permitted to claim that Syria had been evacuated and this notwithstanding the improper terms sent to Mehemet Ali—terms that it was impossible he could accede to, without setting the whole country into rebellion and discord, creating dissension in his family and mutiny in his army and navy; and he was right in rejecting the terms with scorn. But the liberal part of the terms he received; he abandoned his monopolies, and gave up slavery—[Cheers]; and all that he asked was, that he should be left in quiet possession of Egypt, in order that he might devote his whole energies to its civilization; "for," said he, "I have given up all ideas of conquest." It was his duty to say that he believed the Pasha was honest and straightforward in his conduct; that from the beginning he acted with the most perfect sincerity.

On Wednesday the gallant Commodore was entertained at Manchester, in a similar style of magnificence and with equal enthusiasm; and delivered a speech much to the same purport as the one above alluded to.

Mr. Ellis, M.P. for Newry has returned to England from a tour on the Continent.

**NOTTINGHAM ELECTION.**—The following handbill has been extensively circulated in Nottingham during the week—"To the electors of Nottingham. Mr. Baine's, a town councillor of Leicester, an advocate of vote by ballot, extension of the suffrage, and the poor man's friend, has been confined in Leicester Gaol seven months for non-payment of church-rates. Mr. Larpent will vote for his liberation; Mr. Walter would keep him there until the utmost farthing had been paid. Choose Walter, and expect imprisonment for church-rates in every town; or choose Larpent and deliverance from the grasp of the state-church." The nomination of the candidates took place at the Exchange on Monday; owing to the directions of the sheriff, Thomas Roberts, Junr., Esq., every facility was afforded. Mr. Larpent was accompanied to the hustings by Lord Raneliffe, Col. Wyldman, Mr. Close, and a long train of gentlemen; and shortly after Mr. Walter and his friends appeared. The Mayor having gone through the usual formalities, William Roworth, Esq., the late mayor, proposed and Mr. Charlton of Chilwall seconded John Walter, Esq. as a fit and proper person to represent the borough in Parliament. Lord Raneliffe proposed, and F. Hoste, Esq. seconded the nomination of Mr. Larpent. A show of hands was then taken, which the sheriff declared to be in favour of Mr. Walter, and a poll was demanded on behalf of Mr. Larpent. Not one of the speakers could be heard, so great was the noise and confusion.

**HIGH WYCOMBE, April 17.**—The failure of Mr. Rumsey, solicitor of this place, under-sheriff for the county during the past year, has caused quite a panic here. His liabilities are reported to be about 40,000*l.*, and we regret to say that many parties who had deposited property in his hands will be nearly ruined by the circumstance.—*Windsor Express.*

On Wednesday evening, the annual Meeting of the Rochdale Anti-Corn Law Association was held in the commissioner's rooms. As the whole of the electors in addition to the members of the association, had been invited by circular to attend the meeting, the large room was crowded to the door. Mr. John Petrie was called to the chair, and the Meeting was addressed by Wm. Chadwick, Esq., Hen. Kelsall, Esq., R. Scholfield, Esq. and Mr. Ald. Cobden, of Manchester. A petition was unanimously adopted, praying for the total and immediate abolition of the corn and provision laws.

On Friday evening, a numerous meeting of the electors of Wigan, called by circulars, issued by the Anti-corn-Law League to every elector in the borough, to meet a deputation from the league, was held in the large room of the Commercial Hall. Soon after seven o'clock, the deputation consisting of R. Cobden, Esq., George Wilson, Esq., and A. Prentice, Esq. entered, accompanied by J. Acton, Esq., J. S. Heron, Esq., T. Taylor, Esq., R. Bevan, Esq., Mr. Alderman Dutton, and other gentlemen. J. S. Heron, Esq. was called to preside, and on taking the chair, and presenting himself to the meeting he was received with much cheering. A resolution, pledging the meeting not to support any candidate for the representation of the borough, who will not pledge himself to vote for the total and immediate repeal of the corn and provision laws, was carried unanimously.

A great demonstration against the corn-laws took place at Bradford, on Monday evening week. A large tea party, consisting both of ladies and gentlemen, was held in the large room of the handsome hall belonging to the Temperance Society, in that town. Long before the time of meeting 950 tickets were disposed of, and could the room have afforded the necessary accommodation, there is no doubt, from the number of anxious applications for tickets, that the number might have been trebled. As it was, the party was so large that they were obliged to be divided into two or three sets, it being utterly impossible for the whole to take tea at one time. The demonstration excited considerable interest in the town. T. G. Clayton, Esq., of Bierley, occupied the chair. On his right sat E. C. Lister, Esq., member for the borough, and Mr. Alderman Cobden; and on his left sat Wm. Busfield, Esq., the other member for the borough. Amongst the other guests was a very large number of the ministers of the gospel of all denominations—including the Rev. William Morgan, (Church minister); the Rev. Henry Dowson; the Rev. Jonathan Glyde; the Rev. P. M. Kaye (Catholic priest); the Rev. James Acworth, principal of Horton College; the Rev. Francis Clowes, classical tutor at the same place; the Rev. T. Pottinger; the Rev. R. Ingham; the Rev. J. Harvey; the Rev. Mr. Bairstow; the Rev. Walter Scott, principal, and the Rev. T. C. Clulow, classical tutor of Airedale College. The following gentlemen were also present:—Lawrence Heyworth, Esq., of Liverpool; Dr. Smiles, Editor of the *Leeds Times*; Mr. Edward Baines, jun., Editor of the *Leeds Mercury*; Jas. Garnett, Esq.; Robert Mil-lingham, Esq.; J. Lupton, Esq.; Wm. Cheesborough, Esq.; — Willet, Esq.; T. Beaumont, Esq., surgeon; Titus Salt, Esq.; and Daniel Salt, Esq.

**ANTI-CORN LAW PETITIONS.**—Petitions are now preparing for the following places in the West-Riding of the county of York, namely,—Morley, Idle, Eccleshill, Old Mill, Eccleshill, Albion Mill, Eccleshill, New Mill, Eccleshill, Alverthorpe, Bolton, Ossett, Mirfield, Birstall, Windhill, Thornhill, Sutton, and those places in that neighbourhood, and Morley.

IRELAND.

**VICEROYALTY OF IRELAND.**—The *Dublin Evening Mail* reiterates an announcement put forward by that journal a fortnight since, to the effect that Lord Ebrington is to have the seals of the Home-office, and that their present possessor is to proceed to Paris to succeed Lord Granville in his high functions of Ambassador to the Court of the Tuileries. The *Mail* further adds, that in the event of Lord Ebrington going to the Home-office, the Earl of Clarendon will proceed to this country as Lord-Lieutenant, and that Lord Seaton is to have the command of the forces, vice Sir E. Blakeney, whose term of service has expired.

A long correspondence between the Earl of Rosse and the Marquis of Normanby has just been published; it arose out of an allusion made by the latter in a recent debate in the House of Lords to a speech delivered by the noble earl, when Lord Oxmantown, so far back as January, 1839, on the occasion of the assassination of the Earl of Norbury.

**REPEAL OF THE UNION.**—In answer to a question put by the Right Rev. Dr. Blake to Mr. O'Connell, as to when he would bring the question of repeal before parliament, that gentleman said he would do so when he had two millions of repealers enrolled, and when he had four millions he said the repeal would be carried.



## SCOTLAND.

On Tuesday last a meeting of the Aberdeen Anti-Corn-Law Association was held in the hall of the Royal Hotel; the treasurer, Mr. W. Black, in the chair. After disposing of some routine business, the president, secretary, and treasurer were re-elected for the current year, together with four vice-presidents. The meeting appointed Mr. Adam, the secretary, to represent the association at the demonstration at Glasgow, and made arrangements for having a public meeting on Mr. Adams's return.

It is intended to open the Edinburgh and Glasgow Railway from end to end on the 1st of August next.

A meeting of the Directors of the Edinburgh Chamber of Commerce was held in their hall on Wednesday, Archibald Thomson, Esq., in the chair. A communication from Sir J. Campbell was read, stating that he was not aware of any intention on the part of Government to interfere with the Scotch banking system; but he could not by any means answer for their views upon that subject. The Secretary stated that from this and other communications, it appeared necessary now to come forward with an expression of their opinion regarding the system of banking pursued in Scotland. A discussion thereupon took place, and a general and very strong feeling of satisfaction with the present system, and of disapproval of any change, was expressed.

GLASGOW, WEDNESDAY.—Last night a public dinner took place in the Trades-hall, which was numerously attended, for the purpose of making a demonstration in favour of a revision of the import duties and a repeal of the corn-laws. The chair was filled by Mr. Oswald, one of the members for the city; and there were present, among others, Mr. Dennistoun, M.P., Mr. Wallace, M.P., Mr. Hastie, M.P., Mr. Spiers, Mr. J. Tennant, Mr. Lumsden, Dr. Heugh, &c. The proceedings excited great interest.

## MR. BAINES'S IMPRISONMENT.

To the Editor of the Nonconformist.

MR. EDITOR,—May I request a little space in your paper to say how much I was delighted at the appearance of the *Nonconformist*. Dissenters have long needed an advocate; in you I trust they will find one. Other papers have been started under more happy circumstances than yours, but alas! in a short time they have become the property of, or fallen under the influence of, a party whose very countenance is destruction to anything like independence. May a happier lot await you. Here in the country, far away from the throng of the multitude, it is a frequent question, "How is it that there is no unity of movement, or of design even, amongst the London dissenters?" I fear no other answer can be given than the jealousy of the leading men prevents it. The half-heartedness and the selfishness—gross selfishness—stooping so low as to covet the countenance, and feel pleased at the smiles of the rulers in the law church—of the more prominent of the London dissenters has long been matter of grief to many who wish well to the establishment of religious liberty. These men have been so long petted and spoiled and lifted by the thoughtlessness of their hearers into so much of authority, that they have no sympathy with their suffering body, but seek only to magnify themselves and secure their standing amongst men. Hence we see the chilling neglect of John Thorogood; and now, after months, weary months, have been permitted to pass away in silence; one of them has determined to drag Mr. Baines to his weighhouse, and to weigh him in his balance. Glad indeed am I that by such a balance he is found wanting. To such men the conduct of Mr. Baines is a continual reproach, an ever-present accuser. Had they possessed a small portion of the sincerity and moral courage manifested by Mr. Baines, dissenters would not have been as at this time treated with contempt by one member of the government, and rebuke by another, but they would have been in a situation to command attention, and their rights would have been no longer withheld. Martyrdom is so rare a virtue in these days, that men may be somewhat excused if they do not immediately recognise it; but let any serious man—nay, even our London magnates—visit Mr. Baines in his prison-house, as I have done; let them talk with him there, they will soon learn that he at any rate is in earnest, and that he knows why he is in prison, though they may not. And if they do not discover in him an excellency, drawn out by the suffering he has been called upon to endure, which shall make them ashamed of their supineness, and teach them some other manner of weighing him up than they have adopted, I shall think they have wholly lost their savour, or that they never had any. I wish some competent person would submit the law-church victim of Leicester to a true balance. I, in common with a great many of your readers, no doubt should have the great pleasure of seeing him full weight. However, it is, I think, pretty certain that nothing is to be expected from the London dissenters, so long as they continue to worship heroes their own hands have made, which be no heroes after all, but sorry specimens of humanity. What then remains for our friend Baines but that the law-church continue to crush him until such a perfume shall arise from him, that whole multitudes shall become enamoured of it, and shall derive such strength from it that they will be tempted to emulate him. The law-church will then find to her sorrow that she, in attempting his destruction, has only been hastening on her own richly merited doom.

I remain, &c.,

A COUNTRY DISSENTER.

## THE PATRIOT AND THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS.

RESPECTED FRIEND,—About a week since, I observed in the report of proceedings at Worship-street respecting church-rates—a statement reflecting seriously on the character of the "Friends" in Stoke Newington.

I happen to know several of these individuals, and was sure the report was false, and would not be allowed to pass without comment. In a few days I saw a full and satisfactory contradiction in all the daily papers, which I knew had given it circulation.

The Patriot was amongst those who had given currency to the injurious report, and naturally expected that it also would have set the matter right; but in this I was disappointed. For although they give a report of the recent proceedings before the magistrates at Worship-street, they carefully exclude all allusion to the exposure that took place of those gross misrepresentations which they had done their part to circulate, and which the daily papers, without exception, had the candor to insert.

Since this is the case with the Patriot, for the sake of justice to the characters of several uncompromising friends of religious liberty, may I beg for this communication a place in the columns of the *Nonconformist*.

I am very respectfully, thy friend,

York, 27th, 4th mo. 1841.

J. CLEMESHA.

## MISCELLANEOUS INTELLIGENCE.

NEWMANIA.—This felicitous soubriquet has been given by a high authority in Dublin, to Puseyism.

Workmen are now employed in laying down wood pavement in the Poultry.

It has been arranged that the port of arrival and departure for the British Queen from and to New York, will, in future, be Liverpool instead of London.

We understand that it is true that an alteration was made in the paddle-floats of the British Queen and President previous to their last departure for America, which was rendered necessary by Mr. Gallo-way, the engineer, having obtained an injunction against the steam company for an infringement of his patent. A diversity of opinion exists as to the effect of the alteration. Some contend that it is highly detrimental inasmuch as it causes the paddles to churn the water rather than to propel the vessel, whilst it was considered by several scientific gentlemen who accompanied the vessels down the river to be an improvement upon their speed, as well as tending to their safety.

An extraordinary express from Falmouth announces the arrival there on Sunday last of her Majesty's packet Pandora, Lieutenant Innis, from Mexico, with six passengers and 330,000 dollars on freight. She brings no political or commercial news of any interest.

FOOD AND WAGES.—Sir William Molesworth is about to move for a committee of the House of Commons to inquire the connexion which has existed between the price of food and the rate of wages, extending backwards during a considerable term of years. The result will be looked for with interest.

We are informed, upon authority, that Commodore Sir Charles Napier will be present at the dinner of the Shipwrecked Fishermen and Mariners' Benevolent Society, to take place on Wednesday, May 5, at the London-tavern, Bishopgate street.—*Sun*.

THE EXPEDITION TO THE NIGER.—The Albert iron steam-vessel, Captain Henry Dundas Trotter, sailed from Deptford on Tuesday, and is now opposite the dockyard, Woolwich, where the crew will be paid wages, and afterwards sail for the Niger in company with the Wilberforce, the Soudan having previously sailed for that destination.

A gentleman on the recent Western circuit last week sent from Bodmin, to his wife in London, a couple of chickens, through the post-office, one of which weighed nine and the other eight ounces. They were wrapped in parchment, and reached their destination in excellent condition.

REDUCTION OF DUTIES ON FRENCH WINES AND SPIRITS.—It is reported that the proposed reductions to be made under the new commercial treaty with France will be 10s. per gallon on brandy, and to 1s. 6d. per gallon on wine. The conclusion of the commercial treaty is dependent on the ratification of the political treaty, which will withdraw France from her present isolation.—*London Journal of Commerce*.

FATAL ACCIDENT.—William Fox, a quarryman, was killed at Henley last week, in an attempt to disentangle the fishing tackle of Sir Chas. Cuyler, from the branches of a tree. Whilst standing upon one bough and holding on by another, the one he held by gave way, and falling upon his head he broke his neck. Sir Charles's conduct was that of a kind and humane gentleman.

DEATH BY DROWNING.—A waterman named Henry Upton was drowned off Queenhithe stairs on Monday se'nnight, having fallen asleep on board a barge and rolled over the side into the water.

A FEMALE BURNED TO DEATH.—A young woman named Elizabeth Figg, in service at Rochampton, Surrey, was burned to death in consequence of her clothes catching fire whilst in the act of removing a pot of boiling water.

FIRE AT BRIGHTON.—On Wednesday evening, a fire broke out at New Salts-farm, occupied by Mr. Duke, between Shoreham and Worthing. Some sparks from the washhouse chimney were carried by a high wind to the rick-yard, where a hay stack was set on fire. From this spot the fire communicated to an adjoining hovel, and thence to a barn and stable, all of which were consumed. A wheat stack was also set on fire by the sparks, and entirely burned up.

On Monday last, an explosion took place at Wellington Colliery, about half-way between Newcastle and North Shields. At the time of the explosion thirty-four men and boys were in the pit, and thirty-one of these lost their lives.

FATAL CAB ACCIDENT.—On Saturday, about three o'clock, a respectable female was in the act of crossing the road at Kennington Cross, when a cab, the horse in which had run away, came galloping furiously along, and before the unfortunate woman could get out of the way she was knocked down, and the wheels passing over her, crushed her head and legs in a most shocking manner. She lived only a few minutes.

On Friday se'nnight, a servant girl at the farm of Bucklivie, near Crossgates, was feeding in sheaves to the threshing mill, when the rollers caught hold of her hands and dragged off both her arms at the shoulder. She lingered in great agony about three hours, and then expired.—*Caledonian Mercury*.

On Wednesday week, as some men in the employ of Mr. W. Teasdale, ship-builder, South-town, were carrying a large piece of timber, up the stage of a vessel in process of building, it fell from their shoulders, and precipitated six or seven of them a distance of about ten feet, whereby a man named Hastings received so severe an external injury, as to cause his death two days after. Another man, named Prestell, had his thigh broken.

On Friday, the 16th inst., a young man, named Adams, (the son of a respectable farmer at St. Margaret's, Suffolk,) was driving an empty wagon on the Halesworth road, and getting entangled with the reins and shafts, was thrown on the bank by the side of the road, when the horses backed the wagon against him, pushed a part of the back rail quite into his chest, and caused almost immediate death.



**FATAL ACCIDENT WITH FIRE ARMS.**—On Sunday morning a young man named John Waters, a labourer at Frittenden, went with two other young men to shoot a magpie, with a gun. Whilst on the watch Waters in play presented the muzzle of the gun to the breast of one of the others, who expostulated with him on the danger of doing so. Waters, however, to show how little he feared the danger, foolishly presented the muzzle at his own breast and the butt striking against one of the others at the same instant, the piece exploded, and he was so dreadfully wounded that he died within an hour afterwards.

**FATAL ACCIDENT BY COACH.**—Wednesday week, as the Nottingham and Retford Coach was returning from the latter place to Nottingham, in coming down a hill at a very fast pace, in the neighbourhood of Retford, it was upset, and the coachman, Wright, was found to be so injured as to leave no hopes of his recovery. A female passenger was killed upon the spot, and the other passengers more or less injured.—*Notts Review*.

On Wednesday afternoon, a young man, of the name of Zachariah Gage, expired at Guy's Hospital, from the effects of falling into a vat of boiling oil, at Messrs. Langton's oil warehouse, Newington Butts.

**Loss of Life off Scarborough.**—A fatal and most disastrous collision between two vessels, took place in the North Sea, on the morning of Monday week. It appears the vessels in question, the brig Anne Jane, belonging to London, and the French sloop, Jeune Flavie of Dunkirk, when within three miles of Flamborough Head, came in contact with terrible violence. The confusion that ensued in both vessels cannot be described. In less than two minutes the Jeune Flavie went down head foremost, and those on board of the brig expected every minute that their vessel would go down also. The master of the sloop, and three seamen saved themselves by clinging hold of the shivered rigging of the brig, but the remainder disappeared with the vessel and perished. The bowsprit of the Anne Jane was carried away, and her stem driven in; and it was but with the greatest exertions that she was prevented from sinking. The sloop and cargo are valued at 1,500*l*.

A lengthened investigation took place on Wednesday last before Mr. Payne, in the Fleet Prison, touching the death of Zachariah Edwards, aged 35, formerly a captain in the 12th royal lancers, and once a favourite godson of his late Majesty William IV. It appeared from the evidence that the deceased was once a very wealthy man, and, as one of the witnesses expressed it, had "given away thousands at a dash." On leaving the army, he entered into commercial speculations, and was thereby ruined, and about eight months since was cast into the Fleet Prison for debt. During the whole of his continuance there not one of all his affluent friends came near him; and so great was his destitution that for days together he had had no food but a few potatoes. He was described by all the witnesses as of the most gentlemanlike manners and amiable disposition; and it appeared that he concealed, as far as possible, his destitute condition from his fellow prisoners. He was seized with the typhus fever a few days before his death, brought on, the surgeon said, by privation and great anxiety of mind. The jury returned a verdict to that effect. Mr. Oastler, one of the witnesses, stated that there were several other gentlemen then in the prison who were fast dying from the same causes.

**THE SUICIDE MANIA.**—Last week seven suicides came under the cognizance of Mr. Wakley, the coroner for the westerly division of Middlesex—within two days. Some of these cases were of a most extraordinary character. One was on the body of a respectable tradesman, who hung himself to the rail of his bedstead, because his wife kept him knocking at the street-door too long before she let him in at a late hour in the evening. Another was on the body of a drover, who cut his throat in consequence of some of his companions refusing to treat him to half a pint of beer. Another on the body of a lady, who strangled herself with her night-cap strings, so tightly that the blood rushed from her mouth and nostrils. A fourth was on the body of a man who hung himself to a tree in Hornsey Wood, because he had failed in obtaining the situation of gamekeeper to a gentleman in the country. The fifth was on a lady who ripped her throat completely up with a pair of scissors. Another was on the body of a gentleman who was alarmed by hearing the curtains of his bed rustle, and, under a delusion that some one was going to murder him, jumped out of bed, ran to the window on the second floor, and leaped into the area.

On Friday night, a female named Anne Baines attempted to destroy herself by leaping into the Thames from the parapet of Blackfriars-bridge. She was observed by a policeman, who gave the alarm to some men on the pier, and a boat instantly put off to her rescue. Happily, they succeeded in gaining her apparently lifeless body; and after an hour's attention on the part of Mr. Hutchinson, surgeon, she showed symptoms of recovery.

#### LIST OF PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED.

1. *Mammon; or, Covetousness the sin of the Christian Church.* By the Rev. JOHN HARRIS, D.D. Thirty-second Thousand. London: T. Ward and Co.
2. *Ward's Library of Standard Divinity.* No. 28. Notes on the Book of Genesis. By GEORGE BUSH, Professor of Hebrew and Oriental Literature; New York City University. London: T. Ward and Co.
3. *Religion and Education in America.* By JOHN DUNMORE LANG, D.D. London: T. Ward and Co.; 1840.
4. *Religious Parties in England; their Principles, History, and present Duty.* By ROBERT VAUGHAN, D.D. London: T. Ward and Co.
5. *The Scheme of Prophecy.* The Exposition of the Prophecies of Daniel, &c., &c. London: Simpkin, Marshall, and Co. 1839.
6. *The Golden Rules of Life.* Selected from the works of the best authors, ancient and modern. Fourth edition. London: Simpkin and Marshall.
7. *The Wanderer Welcomed Home.* An Authentic Narrative. London: T. Ward and Co.
8. *The Life and Exploits of Commodore Napier,* chiefly by Himself; with portraits and five plates. Fourth Edition. London: Strange, 21, Paternoster Row.
9. *A Guide to nearly One Hundred Loan Societies,* for borrowing in any Sums from Five Pounds to Five Hundred, &c. London: W. Strange, Paternoster Row.

We are compelled to defer the whole of our literary articles in consequence of the pressure of important political matter.

## TRADE AND COMMERCE.

### LONDON GAZETTE.

Friday, April 23.

#### INSOLVENTS.

JONES, WILLIAM, Llanllechid, Carnarvonshire, farmer, April 22.  
TOPLEY, JAMES, Greenwich, grocer, April 23.

#### BANKRUPTCY ANNULLED.

JONES, GEORGE, Birmingham, ironfounder.

#### BANKRUPTS.

ABBOTT, PETER HARRIS, King's Arms-yard, Moorgate-street, merchant, to surrender May 5, June 4: solicitors, Messrs. Turner and Hensman, Basing-lane.  
BORTON, WILLIAM, Kirby Misperton, Yorkshire, and York, banker, May 4, June 4: solicitors, Messrs. Dyneley and Co., Bedford-row; and Mr. Watson, Pickering.  
CROSS, CHARLES, and SPAULL, BARNARD, Colchester, Essex, merchants, May 5, 6, June 4: solicitors, Messrs. Sparling and Turner, Colchester; and Messrs. Wood and Ellis, Corbet-court, Gracechurch-street.  
DOLLMAN, EDWARD, Church-court, Clement's-lane, merchant, May 5, June 4: solicitor, Mr. Fisher, Great James-street, Bedford-row.  
EDISBURY, JAMES, Holywell, Flintshire, grocer, May 7, June 4: solicitors, Messrs. Smedley and Rogers, Jernyn-street; and Mr. Smedley, Holywell.  
FISHER, JOHN, Frinsbury, Kent, miller, May 7, June 4: solicitors, Mr. Simmons, Rochester; and Messrs. Simpson and Moor, Fulnival's-inn.  
GOODDY, RICHARD, and M'KEE, WILLIAM EDWARD, Kingston-upon-Hull, millers, May 7, June 4: solicitors, Messrs. Walmsley and Co., Chancery-lane; and Messrs. Dryden and Son, Hull.  
HILDICK, MOORE, Walsall, Staffordshire, miller, May 11, June 4: solicitors, Messrs. Miller and Fallows, Piccadilly; and Mr. Holland, West Bromwich, Staffordshire.  
JENNS, GEORGE, Hoxton Old Town, and Cumming-street, Pentonville, patent water-proof polished and enamelled leather manufacturer, May 4, June 4: solicitors, Messrs. Lindsay and Mason, Cateaton-street.  
JONES, WILLIAM, and WINDLE, JOSEPH BROWNING, Liverpool, wine-merchants, May 6, June 4: solicitors, Messrs. Makinson and Sanders, Middle Temple; and Messrs. Lee and Foden, Leeds.  
NELSON, STEPHEN, Sowerby, Yorkshire, builder, April 29, June 4: solicitors, Mr. Kirk, Symond's-inn, Chancery-lane; and Mr. Holtby, York.  
NORRISON, FRANCIS, Devil's Bridge, Cardiganshire, innkeeper, May 7, June 4: solicitors, Mr. Stevens, Gray's-inn-square; and Mr. Perkins, Bristol.  
ROSS, JOHN, Epworth, Lincolnshire, sacking-manufacturer, May 3, June 4: solicitors, Messrs. Tilson and Co., Coleman-street; and Messrs. Wells, Kingston-upon-Hull.  
WALKER, ADAM, of Liverpool, drysalter, May 7, June 4: solicitors, Messrs. Willis and Co., Tokenhouse-yard; Mr. Johnson, Liverpool; and Mr. Mortimer, Manchester.  
WARDEL, WILLIAM JOSEPH, Pickering, Yorkshire, wine-merchant, May 4, June 4: solicitors, Mr. Strangways, Barnard's-inn; and Mr. Pierson, Pickering.  
WOOD, WILLIAM, Walsall, Staffordshire, victualler, May 10, June 4: solicitors, Mr. Hunt, New Boswell-court, Lincoln's-inn; and Mr. Marsden, Walsall.

#### DIVIDENDS.

May 14, Bodman and Carwardine, Bristol, soap-manufacturers—May 21, Cole, Old Byland, Yorkshire, cattle-dealer—May 14, Collis, Dunmow, Essex, draper—May 14, Crowthor and Tapp, Charles-street, Middlesex Hospital, coachmakers—May 17, Denton, Halifax, Yorkshire, silk-spinner—May 15, Edwards and Blakeway, Stourbridge, Worcestershire, linen-draper—May 14, Freeman and Co., Church-street, Bermondsey, and Bristol, leather-factors—May 14, Gorton, jun., Grosvenor-row, Pimlico, bookseller—May 20, Jacques, Cotton, and Oliver, Nottingham, hosiers—May 17, Jones, Staines, linen-draper—May 15, Jordan, Leeds, cabinet-maker—May 17, Kellett, Ulverston, Lancashire, cabinet-maker—May 17, Lax, Manchester, innkeeper—May 14, Lucas, J. C. and T., Aldersgate-street, lozenge-manufacturers—May 14, McNeill, sen., Charles-street, Middlesex Hospital, coachmaker—May 17, Nicholl, A. and W., Halifax, Yorkshire, worsted-spinners—May 15, Pickard, Leeds, cabinet-maker—May 21, Pritchard, Witney, Oxfordshire, iron-founder—May 18, Self, North Curry, Somersetshire, draper—May 15, Strickland and Mattock, Newgate-market, cheesemongers—May 14, Waring, Luton, Bedfordshire, grocer—May 15, West, Fleet-street, medicine-vender.

#### CERTIFICATES—May 14.

Barlow, Birmingham, brassfounder—Erredge, Brighton, bookseller—Knowelden, Great Guildford-street, Southwark, engineer—Rouse, Worcester, stationer—Tomlinson, Manchester and Birmingham, ironmaster.

#### PARTNERSHIPS DISSOLVED.

Blackbird, Hunter, and Clarke, Newcastle-upon-Tyne, ship-brokers—Bowell and Son, Leeds, woollen-merchants—Brenchley and Staceys, Maidstone, brewers—Cameron and Williamson, Manchester, joiners—Da Silva and Kember, Wallbrook, proprietors of patent medicines—Dean and Evans, Birmingham, manufacturers of patent flour-mills—Dugdale and Green, Wareham, Dorsetshire, coal-merchants—Hearn, Woodward, and Co., Horselydown and St. Mary-at-Hill, wharfingers—Lawton, C. and I., Longton, Staffordshire, gilders—Marriage and Leake, Chelmsford, merchants—Parker and Fidler, Chorlton-upon-Medlock, Lancashire, joiners—Parsons and Benoitmont, Fore-street, Cripplegate, tobacconists—Price and Livett, Cheltenham, attorneys-at-law—Richards and Blake, Taunton, Somersetshire, engineers—Ridsdale, J. and H., Leeds, stuff-merchants—Russell, Scotson, and Co., Gutter-lane, warehousemen—Simpson and Alder, Birmingham, hosiers—Sugg and Pywell, Marsham-street, Westminster, brass-founders—Whitworth and Nuttall, Hutebank, near Haslingden, Lancashire, woollen-dyers—Wyke and Davies, Mottram-in Longdendale, Cheshire, millwrights.

#### SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

STEWART, PETER, Glasgow, innkeeper, April 28, May 20.  
WEIR, DAVID, Glasgow, cheese-merchant, April 29, May 21.

Tuesday, April 27.

#### INSOLVENTS.

CLARE, WILLIAM, Wells-street, Hackney, grocer.  
NOBLE, JOHN, and FREER, JOSEPH, Huncote, Leicestershire, hosiers.

#### BANKRUPTS.

APPLEBY, JOHN, grocer, Chester, May 13, June 8: solicitors, Messrs. Bower and Rack, Chancery-lane, London; and Barratt, Manchester.  
BANKS, EDWARD, Birmingham, button-maker, May 4: solicitor, Chaplain, Gray's-inn-square, London; and Harrison, Birmingham.  
BONING, ROBERT, Bridge-street, Westminster, milliner, May 4, June 8: solicitor, Shuter, Millbank-street, Westminster.  
CARR, PETER, ROBINSON, JOHN JAMES, and BELL, CHRISTOPHER, Leeds, flax-spinners, May 11, June 8: solicitors, Messrs. Wigglesworth, Ridsdale, and Craddock, Gray's-inn-square, London; and Richardson, Leeds.  
DAY, THOMAS, and APPLEBY, THOMAS, paper-manufacturers, May 11, June 8: solicitors, Messrs. Price and Bolton, Lincoln's-inn, London; and Bishop, Shelton-hall, Staffordshire Potteries.  
EASTWOOD, JAMES, Halifax, innkeeper, May 18, June 6: solicitors, Messrs. Emmet and Allen, Bloomsbury-square, London; and Bennett, Halifax.  
GRANGER, JACOB, Newport, Isle of Wight, grocer, May 20, June 8: solicitors, Messrs. Hicks and Braikenridge, Bartlett's-buildings, Holborn, London; and Blake, Newport.  
HAYWARD, JOSEPH, Manchester, bookseller, May 10, June 8: solicitors, Freeman, Bothamley, and Bental, Coleman-street, London; and Lycett, Manchester.  
HETHERINGTON, JOHN, King's Arms Yard, tea-merchant, May 7, June 8: solicitor, Messrs. Tanqueray, New Bread Street; official assignee, Mr. Johnson.  
HANDLEY, ROBERT, Rochdale, tailor, May 14, June 8: solicitors, Messrs. Johnson, Son, and Weatherall, Temple, London; Lord, Rochdale.  
JAMES, JAMES, Ross, Herefordshire, grocer, May 15, June 8: solicitors, Messrs. Park and Nelson, 11, Essex-street, Strand, London; and Collins, Ross, Herefordshire.  
KNOTT, WILLIAM, Swallow-street, St. James's-street, wine cooper, May 8, June 8: solicitor, Mr. Gerard, Suffolk-street, Pall Mall.  
LUCY, JOHN, jun., Liverpool, tailor, May 17, June 8: solicitors, Mr. Cornthwaite, Dean's-court, Doctors'-commons, London; and Cornthwaite, Liverpool.  
LLOYD, WILLIAM, Hereford, wine and brandy merchant, May 10, June 8: solicitor, De Medina, Fitzroy-square; and Lanwarne, Hereford.  
MADDOX, JOSEPH, and BLENCARN, GEORGE, Watling Street, City, warehousemen, May 7, June 8: solicitors, Messrs. Hardwick and Davidson, Cateaton Street, and Sale and Worthington, Manchester; official assignee, Mr. Green.  
PAGE, JOHN, St. Albans, auctioneer, May 10, June 8: solicitors, Messrs. Roche and Co., Charles-street, Covent-garden.  
REDFERN, BARTHOLOMEW, Birmingham, gun-maker, May 12, June 8: solicitors, Messrs. Chilton and Ackland, Chancery-lane, London; Suckling, Birmingham.  
RUTTER, JOHN, Stockton-upon-Tees, Durham, grocer, May 20, June 8: solicitors, Messrs. Smithson and Mitton, Southampton-buildings, Chancery-lane, London; and Barnes, Barnard Castle.



**TOOMBS, CHARLES LAWRENCE**, South Molton-street, oil and colourman, May 11, June 8: solicitors, Messrs. Pain and Hatherley, Great Marlborough-street.

**TOLLITT, JOHN**, Liverpool, bookseller, May 13, June 8: solicitors, Mr. Carter, Liverpool; Messrs. Taylor, Sharpe, Field, and Jackson, Bedford Row, London.

**THELWELL, RICHARD**, Manchester, silversmith, May 12, June 8: solicitor, Mr. Neild, Bond Court House, Walbrook, London.

**WARREN, JOHN**, Bolton-le-Moors, Lancashire, innkeeper, May 20, June 8: solicitors, Messrs. Chilton and Ackland, Chancery-lane, London; Hulton, Bolton-le-Moors.

**WRIGHT, EDWARD**, Manchester, commission-agent, May 10, June 8: solicitors, Messrs. Makinson and Sanders, Elm Court, Middle Temple, London; Atkinson, Birch, and Saunders, Manchester.

**WORTHINGTON, GEORGE**, Liverpool, common-brewer, May 15, June 8: solicitors, Messrs. Taylor, Sharpe, Field, and Jackson, Bedford-row, London; and Holt, Liverpool.

## DIVIDENDS.

May 19, Beale, Marshall-street, Golden-square, packer—May 24, Wilde, Ross, Yorkshire, tanner—May 20, Milner, Stockton-upon-Tees, Durham, draper—May 20, Cooper and Case, Manchester, cotton-manufacturers—May 24, Light, Stoke-upon-Trent, grocer—May 24, Wood, Northampton, iron-monger—May 20, Webster and Brown, Liverpool, fringe-manufacturers—June 8, Bradwell, Manchester, fastism-manufacturer.

## CERTIFICATES—MAY 18.

Mason, Heywood, near Bury, Lancashire, cotton-spinner—Naylor, Manchester, wire-drawer—Howe, Howden, Yorkshire, corn-factor—Annan, Watling-street, printer—Harrison, New Broad-street, wine-merchant—Tarboton, Thorne, Yorkshire, corn-dealer—Smithies, Bradford, Yorkshire, worsted spinner—Toplis, Nottingham, draper—Mead, Liverpool, iron-merchant—Cross, Cambridge, coachman—Clements, Addison-road North, Notting-hill, publican—Summer, Reading, Berkshire, builder—Wylie, Newcastle-under-Lyne, wine-merchant.

## PARTNERSHIPS DISSOLVED.

Elliott and Welford, Bishopwearmouth, Durham, surgeons—Holmes, C. J. and R., South-square, Gray's-inn, attorneys-at-law—Reynolds and Rogers, Old-street, St. Luke's, and Kingsland-road, Shoreditch, cheesemongers—Svanwick and Soward, St. Mary-at-hill, Eastcheap, Custom-house-agents—Moss and Humphreys, Queen-street, Cheapside, attorneys—Savage and Cain, Manchester, cotton-manufacturers—Page and Shattock, Tottenham-court-road, boot and shoe-makers—Francis and Horsford, Houghton Conquest, Bedfordshire, brick-makers—Hall, J. and W., Warrington, Lancashire, grocers—Baker and Bruton, Hemel Hempstead, Hertfordshire, linen-draper—Marshall and Sykes, Paddock, near Huddersfield, scribbling-millers—Matthews, T. H. and J., Borough-market and Park-street, Southwark, fruit-salesmen—Gardner and Chesterman, Banbury, Oxfordshire, ironmongers—Spencer, J. and J., Bradford, Yorkshire, worsted-stuff-manufacturers—Warren and Son, Wellingborough, Northamptonshire, grocers—Whiteley and Co., Halifax, Yorkshire, paper-manufacturers; as far as regards Whittell—Thorne and M'Leod, Okehampton, Devonshire, surgeons—Anderton and Scott, New Bridge-street, attorneys-at-law—Wright and Booth, Manchester, machine-makers—Stratford and Handley, Maidon, Essex, shipwrights—Wellington, G. and G. E., Yeovil, Somersetshire, druggists—Mills, J. and W., Poplar, coopers—Toner and Hanlon, Exeter, linen-draper—Willans, Son, and Co., Dublin, woollen-merchants—Goertz and Son, Windsor, upholsterers—Bell, H. and A., Halifax, Yorkshire, drapers—Williams and Jones, Liverpool, timber-dealers—Aydson and Read, Kingston-upon-Hull, steam-engine-manufacturers—Edwards, T. and R., Tardebig, Rowney-green, and Radford, Worcestershire, farmers—Norton and Sons, Carmarthen, brewers; as far as regards Norton—Middleton and Johnston, Glasgow.

## SCOTCH SEQUESTRATIONS.

DUNCAN, JAMES, Ross and Cromarty, tacksman, May 4, 25.  
RAMSAY, THOMAS, Glasgow, wright, May 3, 24.  
SYMINGTON, JOHN, and CREE, JOHN, jun., Glasgow, booksellers, May 3, 31.  
M'FARLANE, DANIEL, and Co., Glasgow, merchants, May 5, 26.  
RUSSELL, PETER, Dundee, grocer, May 3, 24.  
FRAIN, JAMES, Edinburgh, baker, April 30, May 21.

## BRITISH FUNDS.

|                               | Wed.   | Thurs. | Fri.   | Sat.   | Mon.   | Tues.  |
|-------------------------------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|--------|
| 3 per cent Consols .....      | 90½    | 90½    | 90½    | 90½    | 90     | 90½    |
| Ditto for Account .....       | 90½    | 90½    | 90½    | 90½    | 90½    | 90½    |
| 3 per cents. Reduced .....    | 89½    | 89½    | 89½    | 89½    | 89½    | 89½    |
| 3½ per cents. Reduced .....   | 99½    | 99½    | 99½    | 99½    | 99½    | 99½    |
| New 3½ per cents. ....        | 99½    | 99½    | 99½    | 99½    | 99½    | 99½    |
| Long Annuities .....          | 12½    | 12½    | 12½    | 12½    | 12½    | 12½    |
| Bank Stock .....              | 173    | 173½   | 173½   | 173½   | 173½   | 173    |
| India Stock .....             | 256    | —      | 256    | 255½   | —      | 254½   |
| Exchequer Bills .....         | 15 pm. | 14 pm. | 16 pm. | 16 pm. | 16 pm. | 13 pm. |
| India Bonds, 3 per cent. .... | 2 pm.  | 1 pm.  | 3 pm.  | 3 pm.  | 4 pm.  | 2 pm.  |

## FOREIGN FUNDS.

|                          |     |                              |     |
|--------------------------|-----|------------------------------|-----|
| Belgian .....            | 104 | Mexican .....                | 30½ |
| Brazilian .....          | 70  | Peruvian .....               | 18  |
| Buenos Ayres .....       | 24  | Portuguese 5 per cents. .... | 62  |
| Columbian .....          | 23  | Ditto 3 per cents. ....      | 20½ |
| Danish .....             | 78½ | Spanish Active .....         | 23½ |
| Dutch 2½ per cents. .... | 52½ | Ditto Passive .....          | 5½  |
| Ditto 5 per cents. ....  | 99½ | Ditto Deferred .....         | 12½ |

## SHARES.

|                                  |     |                                 |     |
|----------------------------------|-----|---------------------------------|-----|
| Railways—                        |     | London and Birmingham .....     | 160 |
| Birmingham and Derby .....       | 72  | Ditto Quarter shares .....      | 24½ |
| Birmingham and Gloucester .....  | 76  | London and Brighton .....       | 47½ |
| Blackwall .....                  | 20½ | London and Greenwich .....      | 8½  |
| Bristol and Exeter .....         | 37  | Manchester and Birmingham ..... | 25  |
| Cheltenham and Gt. Western ..... | —   | Manchester and Leeds .....      | 66  |
| Eastern Counties .....           | 9½  | Midland Counties .....          | 89  |
| Gosport Junction .....           | 48  | North Midland .....             | 81  |
| Great Western .....              | 93½ | Ditto New .....                 | 40½ |
| Ditto New .....                  | 64  | South Eastern and Dover .....   | 19  |
| Ditto Fifties .....              | 11½ | South Western .....             | 58½ |
|                                  |     | Ditto Tenthies .....            | 2½  |

## MARKETS.

## GRAIN, MARK LANE, April 26th.

The supply of English Wheat this morning was very moderate; and for the best quality there was a brisk sale at the prices of last Monday. Middling samples went off but slowly, and in some instances at a small reduction in price. Old Foreign Wheat ex-granary is in very slow demand; prices nominally the same as last week.

The Flour trade is dull, and the value of the article unaltered.

The supply of Barley was greater than the demand, and barely supported the previous week's prices.

The arrivals of Oats are large, notwithstanding which the trade continues firm, and good corn maintains its price. Some parcels out of condition were disposed of at a reduction.

Beans and Peas remain nominally at the same price, though the dull state of the market would indicate that a decline in value must speedily take place.

|                | s. | d. |                | s. | d. |            | s. | d. |
|----------------|----|----|----------------|----|----|------------|----|----|
| Wheat, Red New | 53 | 59 | Malt, Ordinary | 50 | 53 | Beans, Old | 42 | 45 |
| Fine           | 61 | 62 | Pale           | 58 | 60 | Harrow     | 37 | 41 |
| White          | 55 | 63 | Peas, Hog      | 33 | 38 | Oats, Feed | 23 | 21 |
| Fine           | 65 | 70 | Maple          | 39 | 40 | Fine       | 24 | 25 |
| Bye            | 32 | 36 | Boilers        | 37 | 39 | Poland     | 24 | 27 |
| Barley         | 24 | 28 | Beans, Ticks   | 35 | 38 | Potato     | 24 | 26 |
| Malting        | 32 | 35 |                |    |    |            |    |    |

## AVERAGE PRICES OF CORN.

| Per Qr. (Imp.) of England and Wales. |          | DUTY ON FOREIGN CORN. |          |
|--------------------------------------|----------|-----------------------|----------|
| Wheat                                | 63s. 8d. | For the present week. |          |
| Barley                               | 32 6     | Wheat                 | 22s. 8d. |
| Oats                                 | 23 6     | Barley                | 13 10    |
|                                      |          | Oats                  | 12 3     |
|                                      |          | Peas                  | 11 0     |

## PROVISIONS, LONDON, April 26th.

The arrivals during last week from Ireland were 90 firkins of Butter, and 3,369 hales of Bacon; and from foreign ports, 8,054 casks of Butter.

There is no good Irish Butter left. The London demand is now almost exclusively on Foreign. The last Friesland is 108s., being a decline of 2s to 4s.; Holland 100s. to 10½s.

Very little was done in Bacon last week. The market is dull at 56s. to 57s. on board for parcels shipped; and 56s. to 58s. for parcels landed.

Hams are in good demand at from 65s. to 69s.

## POTATOES.

The supply is large, and the sales heavy at the prices.

|                      |                      |                    |                      |
|----------------------|----------------------|--------------------|----------------------|
| Scotch Reds .....    | per ton 50s. to 65s. | Kent Kidneys ..... | per ton 70s. to 75s. |
| Yorkshire Reds ..... | 80 .. 90             | Whites .....       | 55 .. 65             |
| Wisbeach .....       | 60 .. 65             | Irish .....        | 45 .. 50             |

## HOPS.

The only business doing is in New Hops, of which very few are offered. Prices are firm. General report speaks very favourably of the appearance of the present crops.

## BUTCHER'S MEAT, SMITHFIELD, Monday, April 26th.

Great heaviness existed in the market to-day, notwithstanding a very numerous attendance of London and country dealers, in consequence of the unusually large supply of beasts. Prices, however, kept up pretty well.

Price per stone of 8lbs. (sinking the offal).

|              |                    |            |                    |
|--------------|--------------------|------------|--------------------|
| Beef .....   | 3s. 4d. to 4s. 6d. | Pork ..... | 4s. 8d. to 5s. 4d. |
| Mutton ..... | 4 0 .. 5 2         | Lamb ..... | 5 8 .. 6 4         |
| Veal .....   | 5 4 .. 6 0         |            |                    |

## HEAD OF CATTLE AT SMITHFIELD.

|              | Beasts. | Sheep. | Calves. | Pigs. |
|--------------|---------|--------|---------|-------|
| Friday ..... | 572     | 4,923  | 94      | 546   |
| Monday ..... | 3,104   | 22,080 | 65      | 553   |

## HAY.

The trade throughout the week has been heavy, with every prospect of a decline in price.

## WOOL.

There has been an increased business done this last week, both for home trade and for exportation; the trade, consequently, wears a more healthy aspect than lately;

|                        | s. | d.  | s. | d. |
|------------------------|----|-----|----|----|
| Down Teggs .....       | 1  | 3½  | 1  | 4  |
| Half-bred Hogs .....   | 1  | 3   | 1  | 4  |
| Ewes and Wethers ..... | 1  | 0½  | 1  | 1½ |
| Flannel do .....       | 1  | 0   | 1  | 9  |
| Blanket Wool .....     | 0  | 6   | 0  | 9  |
| Skin, Combing .....    | 0  | 10½ | 1  | 0  |

## GROCERIES, TUESDAY, April 27.

TEA.—There was little demand to-day for free trade descriptions, and some parties were inclined to sell upon rather easier terms, i.e. 5½d. to 1s. 5½d. cash accepted for common Congou; the business done, however, was very limited, the principal holders not being disposed to press sales. For Company's Congous there were sellers, for 1s. 5½d. cash.

COFFEE.—The home market continues firm, and a fair demand is experienced for the useful descriptions. Several parcels of Ceylon sold privately at extreme rates, and further sales were made in Java, good pale at 62s. per cwt. The public sales consisted of 54 casks 37 barrels West India, 961 bags Ceylon, 500 bags Company's Java, and 150 casks of Cuba.

SUGAR.—Another parcel of the new crop of Barbadoes was brought to public sale to-day, it consisted of 148 hhds., and went off very quietly; but the whole was disposed of at 64s. to 73s. for low to fine yellow, being 6d. to 1s. under former rates.

OILS.—This afternoon 65 tons Sperm Oil, ex Wellington, from New York, were put up to public sale, and chiefly sold at from 90l. 15s. to 92l. per tun. 54 Casks Palm Oil were also offered, and sold at 35s. 3d. per cwt.

TALLOW.—Notwithstanding the demand is pretty good; the market is not so firm as last week, prices are fallen. Small pawls, on the spot, sold at 48s.; for the month 47s. 3d. to 47s. 6d. Town tallow is 48s. to 48s. 6d. net cash.

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|-----------------------------|-----------------|--------------|-------------------|-----------------|---------------------------------|
| 20                          | May, 1835       | 1,000        | £ s. d. 19 6 8    | £ s. d. 11 12 0 | 7 14 8                          |
| 30                          | " "             | 1,000        | 24 8 4            | 14 13 0         | 9 15 4                          |
| 40                          | " "             | 1,000        | 31 10 0           | 18 18 0         | 12 12 0                         |
| 50                          | " "             | 1,000        | 42 15 0           | 25 13 0         | 17 2 0                          |
| 60                          | " "             | 1,000        | 66 11 8           | 39 19 8         | 26 12 8                         |

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**CHURCH RATES, Poor Laws, and**

Religious Freedom.—At a MEETING of the Committee of the Protestant Society for the Protection of Religious Liberty, held on Tuesday, April 20, 1841, at the King's Head Tavern, in the Poultry, London;

JOHN WILKS, Esq., in the Chair;

It was unanimously resolved—1. That to the subject of Church Rates this Committee again advert with even augmented anxiety and alarm. That against them they have often remonstrated, as unjust in principle, as oppressive to Dissenters and Methodists, and as productive of local disunion, parochial discord, costly and vexatious litigation, and cruel imprisonment and distress. That by their non-existence in Scotland, and their abrogation in Ireland, they had been taught to believe that they were not essential even to the worship and welfare of any established church; and that by the votes of the House of Commons, and the successive measures of the parliamentary leaders of both parties in the Legislature, they had been encouraged to hope that they would long since have ceased to exist. But, that disappointed in these hopes—indignant at the measures taken in the Ecclesiastical Courts—aroused by the incarceration of Mr. Thorogood and Mr. Baines—astonished at the new perplexities in which the state of the law relating to them seems perversely involved—and excited by the hostile spirit as to their imposition and enforcement which the high church party additionally display, they cannot but co-operate with the active, enlightened, and conscientious, throughout England and Wales, in opposing their continuance; and will again petition the House of Commons for their immediate and total abolition. And that the petition now read be adopted, be signed by the Chairman, and be presented by Alderman Sir Matthew Wood, Bart., M.P., their estimable and well-tried friend and colleague.

2. That this Committee must always consider the possession of religious freedom as an invaluable privilege to which all are entitled, and which poor men, as well as princes, should fully enjoy; and that they regard with apprehension and regret all those measures connected with the new system of Poor Laws, and the provisions in the bill depending in Parliament, by which chaplains and schoolmasters connected with the Established Church are exclusively to be appointed, and are to be paid out of rates to which Non-conformists and every class of Dissenters are forced to contribute; by which, also, the poor resident in workhouses are compelled to unite in services which they disapprove, and are prevented from freely attending the religious worship they conscientiously prefer; and by which the education of children, separated from their parents, and to be trained up to the creed and forms of the church, may be converted into a means of pain-inflicting and sectarian persecution, inconsistent with benevolent feelings, with liberal principles, and the most sacred rights. And,

3. That on a general survey of the lofty claims and unkindly conduct recently asserted and pursued by many reverend members of the Established Church, and of the disposition manifested to treat Dissenters and Methodists with contumely and wrong, and to extend and aggravate, rather than to remove or diminish, all the grievances of which they complain, this Committee become additionally convinced that the union of that Church with the State will ere long become an evil too obnoxious to be endured; that unslumbering vigilance, combined and augmented zeal, and universal well-directed efforts on the part of all friends to religious liberty, are indispensably needful, and should not be delayed, and that in such exertions this Committee will cheerfully and firmly concur.

JOHN WILKS, Chairman,

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